

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
Eleventh Annual Convention

OF THE

American Federation
of Labor

HELD AT

BIRMINGHAM, ALA.
December 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19
1891

PUBLISHED BY DIRECTION OF THE
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

OFFICERS
OF THE
American Federation of Labor

PRESIDENT

SAMUEL GOMPERS, 21 Clinton Place, New York

FIRST VICE-PRESIDENT

P. J. McGUIRE, Box 884, Philadelphia, Pa.

SECOND VICE-PRESIDENT

WM. A. CARNEY, 2715 Carson Street (South Side), Pittsburg, Pa.

SECRETARY

CHRIS. EVANS, 21 Clinton Place, New York

TREASURER

JOHN B. LENNON, 85 East Seventh Street, New York

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the Capitalist and the Laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit;

It therefore behooves the representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in Convention assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America, organized under the trade union system.

CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.—NAME.

This association shall be known as "The American Federation of Labor," and shall consist of such Trade and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

ARTICLE II.—OBJECTS.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of Local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into State, Territorial or Provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other; and, furthermore, to secure National Legislation in the interest of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of Organized Labor.

Sec. 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.

ARTICLE III.—CONVENTION.

Section 1. The Convention of the Federation shall meet annually at 10 A. M., on the second Monday in December, at such place as

the delegates have selected at the preceding convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside during its sessions.

Sec. 3. The following committees, consisting of five members each, shall be appointed by the President: 1st, Credentials; 2d, Rules and Order of Business; 3d, Report of President; 4th, Report of Secretary; 5th, Resolutions; 6th, Laws; 7th, Organization; 8th, Labels and Boycotts; 9th, Grievances; 10th, Local or Federated bodies.

Sec. 4. The Executive Council shall direct the Presidents or Chief Executive Officers of three National or International Unions at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations elect who shall compose an auditing committee, and this committee shall meet at the place for holding the convention three days prior to the convention, and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months. The expenses of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

ARTICLE IV.—REPRESENTATION.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the Convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on; and from each Local or District Trade organization or federated body, not connected with, or having a National or International head, affiliated with this Federation, one delegate. The delegates shall be elected at least two weeks previous to the Annual Convention of the A. F. of L., and the names of such delegates shall be forwarded to the Secretary of this body immediately after their election.

Sec. 2. Questions may be decided by division or a show of hands, but if a call of the roll is demanded by one-tenth of the delegates present, each delegate shall cast one vote for every one hundred members, or major fraction thereof, he represents; but no City or State Federation shall be allowed more than one vote. The Secretary shall prepare for use of the Convention printed poll lists, containing the number of votes the delegates from National and International Unions are entitled to, based upon the last reports made to the office of the Federation.

Sec. 3. No organization which has seceded or has been suspended or expelled from any National or International organization connected with the Federation, shall be allowed a

representation or recognition in this Federation.

Sec. 4. No organization shall be entitled to representation unless such organization has applied for and obtained a certificate of affiliation at least one month prior to the Convention, from the President of the Federation.

Sec. 5. No Central Labor Union or City or State Federation of Labor or any other central body of delegates shall admit to their councils delegates from any local organization that owes its allegiance to any other body, National or International, not connected with this Federation, or hostile to any affiliated organization or that has been suspended or expelled by a National or International organization of their trade, under penalty of being denied representation in general conventions of this Federation. It is the duty of local unions of the American Federation of Labor to organize Central Labor Organizations in the localities where none exist, or to join those already existing, to secure the affiliation of the same with the American Federation of Labor, that there may be unity of action for the purpose of advancing the interests of each other and establishing the principles of this Federation.

Sec. 6. When a Local, National or International Trade Union shall send to a convention a delegate who is not a bona-fide craftsman of the trade he represents on the face of his credential, said Union shall also send a statement to that effect to the convention stating the fact and giving reasons therefor.

ARTICLE V.—OFFICERS.

Section 1. The Officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, two Vice Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention, who shall constitute an Executive Council.

Sec. 2. Should a vacancy in the office of President occur between the annual meetings of the Federation, such vacancy shall be filled by election by the Executive Council; such person so elected to be a member of said Executive Council.

Sec. 3. The President and Secretary shall be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Sec. 4. All elective officers shall be members of a local organization connected with the American Federation of Labor.

Sec. 5. The terms of the officers of the American Federation of Labor shall expire on the first day of January succeeding the convention.

ARTICLE VI.—DUTIES OF OFFICERS.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the President to preside at all general Conventions; to take general supervision of the Federation throughout its jurisdiction; to publish a quarterly circular on February 28th, May 31st, August 21st, and November 30th, of each year; to sign all official documents; to travel, with the consent of the Executive Council, whenever required, in the interests of the Federation; to submit to the Secretary, at the end of each month, an itemized account of all moneys, traveling and incidental, expended by him in the interest of the Federation; and at the end of his term of office he shall report his acts and doings to the annual Convention of the Federation. The President, if not a delegate, shall have the casting vote in case of a tie, but shall not vote at other times.

He shall be required to devote all his time to the interests of the Federation. He shall call meetings of the Executive Council, when necessary, and shall preside over all their deliberations, and he shall receive for his services such sum as the annual conventions may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 2. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In the event of such a vacancy in said office, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue within six days from the date of such vacancy a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at the headquarters of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

Sec. 3. The duties of the Secretary shall be to take charge of all books, papers and effects of the general office; to conduct the correspondence pertaining to his office; to furnish the elective officers with the necessary stationery; to convene and act as secretary of the annual Convention, and furnish to the committee on credentials at each convention a statement of the financial standing of each affiliated body with the Federation; to keep all letters, documents, accounts, etc., in such manner as the annual convention may direct; to receive and collect all moneys due the Federation, and to pay them to the Treasurer, taking his receipt therefor; Provided, that he may retain in his hands a sum not exceeding \$250, for current expenses, which money shall only be paid out on the approval of the President; to submit to the Finance Committee, for their inspection, vouchers for all moneys expended; to close all accounts of the Federation on October 31st of each year, and all moneys received or disbursed after said date shall not be reported in the general balance account of the ensuing convention; to publish a financial report in the quarterly circular, and send ten copies to each affiliated body, and such additional number of copies as may be ordered and paid for by any organization connected with the Federation. His office shall be located in the same office with that of the President. He shall give a bond of \$1,000 for the faithful performance of his duties, and for his services he shall receive such sum as the annual conventions may determine, payable weekly.

Sec. 4. The Treasurer shall receive and take charge of all moneys, property and security of the Federation delivered to him by the Secretary. He shall deposit all moneys belonging to the Federation in bank, in his name as Treasurer of the American Federation of Labor, and before any moneys thus deposited can be drawn, each check shall be signed by him as Treasurer. He shall pay through the Secretary, all warrants regularly drawn on him, signed by the President and countersigned by the Secretary, as required by this Constitution, and none others. He shall submit to the annual Convention a complete statement of all receipts and disbursements during his term of office, and at the expiration of his term of office he shall deliver up to his successor all moneys, securities, books and papers of the Federation under his control, and for the faithful performance of his duties he shall give a bond in the sum of \$5,000. The annual salary of the Treasurer shall be \$100.

Sec. 5. All books and financial accounts shall, at all times, be open to the inspection of the President and Executive Council.

ARTICLE VII.—EXECUTIVE COUNCIL.

Section 1. It shall be the duty of the Executive Council to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trade Unions, and to organize local Trade Unions and connect them with the Federation until such time as there are a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any trade dispute.

ARTICLE VIII.—STRIKES AND LOCKOUTS.

Section 1. In case any National or International body affiliated with this Federation shall order a strike, or are locked out, and by reason of financial distress it shall be necessary for it to call upon the Federation for aid, the Executive Council, if they deem that such organization is entitled to receive such assistance, shall make an assessment, not exceeding two cents per member per week, upon every other National or International body so affiliated with the Federation. Such assessment shall remain in force for a period not exceeding five continuous weeks, unless otherwise ordered by a general vote of all National and International Unions affiliated.

Sec. 2. Any National or International organization, or other body connected with this Federation, failing to comply with the requirements of Sec. 2 of this Article, within a period of 30 days, shall be suspended, and shall not be reinstated until all arrearages are paid in full. Provided, however, that organizations represented in this Convention whose delegates have been instructed to oppose the levying of an assessment shall not be liable to suspension until the matter is acted on at their next National or International convention.

Sec. 3. Accompanying a call for an assessment shall be a circular from the President of the Federation, giving a detailed account of the strike or lockout.

Sec. 4. No affiliated body of the American Federation of Labor shall be entitled to benefit from the strike fund of the Federation until they have been six months affiliated, have paid six months per capita tax to the Federation, and are in good standing.

ARTICLE IX.—REVENUE.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived as follows: From International and National Trade Unions a per capita tax of one-fourth of one cent per member per month; from local trade unions and federal unions, one cent per member per month; and from Central Labor Unions of City and

State Federated bodies, \$25 per annum. All moneys shall be payable to the Secretary of the Federation.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation unless the tax of their organization, as provided for in Section 1 of this Article, has been paid in full.

Sec. 3. Any organization, affiliated with this Federation, not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the Secretary of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears, it shall become suspended from membership in the Federation, and can only be reinstated by vote of the Convention, when such arrearages are paid in full.

Sec. 4. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers, from place to place, in the interests of the Federation.

Sec. 5. The remuneration for loss of time by members of the Executive Council or speakers engaged by them shall be \$3.50 per day and traveling and hotel expenses.

ARTICLE X.—MISCELLANEOUS.

Section 1. The Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern matters not in conflict with this Constitution or the Constitution of affiliated Unions, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 2. Certificates of affiliation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International Unions and local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 3. Any seven wage-workers of one trade of good character, and favorable to Trade Unions, and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trades Union movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local certificate by the President of this Federation, provided the request for a certificate be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The certificate fee for affiliated bodies shall be \$5, payable to the Secretary of the Federation, and which shall accompany the application.

Sec. 5. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city, belonging to the National or International Union, affiliated with this Federation, they may organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

ARTICLE XI.—AMENDMENTS.

This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so it shall require a two-thirds vote.

NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES ATTENDING THE ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, THE NAMES OF THE ORGANIZATIONS, THE NUMBER OF UNIONS REPRESENTED AND THE NUMBER OF VOTES EACH DELEGATE IS ENTITLED TO.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Votes for Each Delegate.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Bakers' International Union.....	1	50	August Delabar, 85 East 4th street, New York City, N. Y.
Barbers' International Union.....	1	12	J. C. Meyers, Box 448, St. Paul, Minn.
Boiler Makers' International Union.....	1	10	Gus. Lanagan, 123 Summit street, Brooklyn, N. Y.
Boot and Shoe Workers' International Union.....	1	41	H. J. Skeffington, 325 Washington street, Boston, Mass.
Brewery Workmen's National Union.....	1	30	Chas. F. Bechtold, 418 South 4th street, St. Louis, Mo.
Carpenters and Joiners of American Brotherhood.....	5	72	W. H. Kilver, Grand Crossing, Ill.
		72	F. Elldew, 317 Crawford street, Detroit, Mich.
		72	H. H. Blackmore, 3507 Dodier street, St. Louis, Mo.
		72	W. J. Shields, 10 Cheshire street, Jamaica Plains, Mass.
		72	P. J. McGuire, Box 884, Philadelphia, Penn.
Carpenters and Joiners' Amalgamated Society.....	1	19	Geo. Cavanagh, 226 West 20th street, New York City.
Cigar Makers' International Union	4	61	Samuel Gompers, 21 Clinton place, New York City.
		61	Frank Valesh (Bureau of Labor Statistics), St. Paul, Minn.
		61	Chas. Dold, care of H. Conerous, Aurora, Ill.
		61	Samuel Goldwater, 146 21st street, Detroit, Mich.
Clerks (Retail) National Protective Association of America.....	1	50	A. B. Loebenberg, 41 West Washington street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Furniture Workers' International Union.....	1	48	Richard Braunschweig, 20 North Peoria street, Chicago, Ill.
Glass Employees' National Association.....	1	4	Levi J. Regan, 67 Excelsior street, Pittsburg, Pa.
Glass Workers (American Flint)...	1	70	J. H. Burt, 3325 Eoff street, Wheeling, W. Va.
Garment Workers (United) of A....	1	40	Henry White, 14 East 120th street, New York City.
Horse Collar Makers' National Union.....	1	4	James McGill, 618 Geiger street, Louisville, Ky.
Iron Molders' Union of North America.....	3	52	Jos. F. Valentine, 184 Oak street, San Francisco, Cal.
		52	Martin Fox, Box 388, Cincinnati, O.
		52	R. H. Metcalf, 590 Queen street, Toronto, Canada.
Iron and Steel Workers (A. A. of)	3	70	W. A. Carney, 2715 Carson street, S. S., Pittsburg, Pa.
		70	Jerry Doherty, 650 Second avenue, Pittsburg, Pa.
		70	R. W. Prosser, 135 West Market street, New Albany, Ind.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Votes for Each Delegate.	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Lasters' Protective Union.....	2	35	Ed. L. Daley, 620 Atlantic avenue, Boston, Mass.
		34	Edward Cogan, 41 Appleton street, Brockton, Mass.
Mine Workers (United).....	3	47	John B. Rae, 63 Clinton Building, Columbus, O.
		47	Jno. McBride (Labor Commissioner), Columbus, O.
		47	John P. Jones, North Lawrence, Stark Co. O.
Quarrymen's National Union.....	1	36	John J. Byron, Quincy, Mass.
Saddle and Harness Makers, National Association of.....	1	8	Chas. P. Fahey, 708 Main street, Nashville, Tenn.
Tailors (Journeymen) of America.	2	20	John B. Lennon, Box 30, Station D, New York City.
Tanners' and Carriers' Brotherhood of America and Federated Trades Council of Milwaukee.....	1	20	A. Todtenhausen, Knoxville, Tenn.
Typographia, (German American)	1	9	John E. Coughlin, 649 Island avenue, Milwaukee, Wis.
		13	George A. Speyer, 355 East 77th street, New York City.
Typographical International Union.....	4	75	W. E. Shields, 184 8th street, N. W., Washington, D. C.
		75	O. A. Williams, 81 Sheffield street, Allegheny, Pa.
		75	W. C. Boyer, World-Herald Office, Omaha, Neb.
		75	Frank A. Kidd, 461 West Erie street, Chicago, Ill.
Wood Workers' (Machine) International Union.....	1	14	Thos. I. Kidd, Box 513, Chicago, Ill.
Electrical Street Car Employees, No. 5193.....	1	1	Richard Robertson, 1219 Chapline street, Wheeling, W. Va.
Electrical Wiremen and Linemen's Union, No. 5321.....	1	1	Henry Miller, 2723 Franklin avenue, St. Louis, Mo.
Federal Labor Union, No. 3873.....	1	1	Geo. E. McNeill, Box 2406, Boston, Mass.
Federal Labor Union, No. 537.....	1	1	Aaron Johnson, 27 Wahoo street, Hot Springs, Ark.
Federal Labor Union, No. 5368.....	1	1	Adam Boner, 149 South 2d street, Newark, Ohio.
Federal Labor Union, No. 5511.....	1	1	Edward Malone, 314 West 6th street, Little Rock, Ark.
Federal Labor Union, Nos. 5567, 5568, 5569.....	1	1	A. Harris, Little Rock, Ark.
Firemen's (Marine) Protective Union, No. 5461.....	1	1	Geo. L. Norton, 3 Levee street, St. Louis, Mo.
Hod Carriers' Union, No. 5487.....	1	1	James A. Campbell, 18 Goshorn street, Charleston, W. Va.
Musicians' Protective Union, No. 5908.....	1	1	F. D. Blesenerherz, 176 East St. Clair street, Indianapolis, Ind.
Musicians' Mutual Benefit Association, No. 5579.....	1	1	Owen Miller, 604 Market street, St. Louis, Mo.
Musical (Chicago) Society, No. 5454	1	1	Chas. M. Currier, 404 West Madison street, Chicago, Ill.
Street Railway Employees, No. 5588.....	1	1	G. E. Stillman, 10 1/2 Broad street, Atlanta, Ga.
State Branch (Massachusetts).....	1	1	Frank A. Foster, 134 Harrison avenue, Boston, Mass.
Central Labor Union, Boston, Mass.....	1	1	Harry Lloyd, 308 Chestnut avenue, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Mass.
Central Labor Union, Cleveland, Ohio.....	1	1	Franklin H. Smead, 26 Cedar avenue, Cleveland, Ohio.
Federation of Labor, Baltimore, Md.....	1	1	Jacob Behrens.
Federation of Labor, Dallas, Tex.....	1	1	Anthony Topin, Box 414, Dallas, Tex.
Federation of Labor, New York City.....	1	1	Daniel Harris, 318 East 115th street, New York City.

NAME OF SOCIETY REPRESENTED.	NUMBER OF DELEGATES.	Number of Votes for Each Delegate	NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF DELEGATES.
Federated Trades Assembly, Portland, Ohio.....	1	1	H. Kretlow, 369 Jesse street, San Francisco, Cal.
Federated Trades (Council of) Pacific Coast.....	1	1	A. Fureseth, 1153 Mission street, San Francisco, Cal.
Trades and Labor Assembly, St. Louis, Mo.....	1	1	W. S. DeVeaux, 604 Market street, Box 72, St. Louis, Mo
Trade and Labor Assembly, Denver, Col.....	1	1	James E. Faulkner, 623 18th street, Denver, Col.
Trade and Labor Assembly, Chicago, Ill.....	1	1	John C. Harding, 89 Hingham street, Chicago, Ill.
Trade and Labor Union, Detroit, Mich.....	1	1	John Strigel, 19 Harrison avenue, Detroit, Mich.
Trades Assembly, Duluth, Minn....	1	1	Ernest Applehagen, 422 E. 4th street, Duluth, Minn.
Trades Council, Birmingham, Ala.	1	1	M. H. De Vore, 2513 2d avenue, Birmingham, Ala.

The above list shows 70 Delegates representing 53 organizations, 95 National, 8 Local, 5 Federal Labor Unions, 1 State Branch and 13 Central Labor Bodies.

ELEVENTH ANNUAL CONVENTION
OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1891

Report of Proceedings

FIRST DAY—Morning Session.

Erswell's Hall,
Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 14, 1891.

The Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor was called to order at 10 o'clock, Monday morning, December 14, 1891, with President Samuel Compers in the chair and Chris. Evans, Secretary.

The hall was neatly arranged for the convenience of delegates during the Convention. Each Delegate was supplied with table, pen, ink, pencil and tablet.

President Compers called the Convention to order, and introduced Mr. Samuel R. Freeman from the Birmingham Trades Council, who introduced Gov. Thomas G. Jones, representing the State of Alabama, and Mr. J. J. Banks, City Attorney, representing the city of Birmingham.

With a few appropriate words, Mr. Freeman presented the Governor of Alabama, who delivered the following address of welcome:

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the American Federation of Labor:

The gentleman who honored me with the introduction has touched upon some matters that surround us here, and for reasons which you will appreciate, I will read my welcome from manuscript. God forbid that I should refer to any of our political issues here. I may say, however, that the cause of labor is greater and higher than any partisan politics. (Applause.)

It is a notable event in the history of the State that this great body of representatives of labor should assemble in Alabama. It is according to the fitness of things, too, that you should meet in the city of Birmingham, the great industrial centre of our rapidly developing State.

Until within a few years past, organized labor was not a considerable influence in Ala-

bama. We were an agricultural people, and our cities given almost entirely to commercial pursuits. Except the printers' unions and the organizations of the men who operated railroads, we were almost strangers to organized labor, its purposes, its benefits and its power. I may say that, in the not very remote past, many of our people, whose sources of information were derived mainly through press reports of labor troubles in other sections, had impressions as unfavorable as they were erroneous concerning your laudable aims and purposes.

I am glad it is not so to-day. (Applause.) I am glad to stand here and bear witness to the revolution in the knowledge and the sentiments of the people of Alabama on this important and transcendent subject. (Applause.) Organized labor came to us mainly with the great industrial movement that has developed our mines, erected our furnaces, studded the State with smoke-stacks and builded the many new cities of which Birmingham is the great type. It was a beneficent and powerful factor in the great onward march, for which we had watched and waited and prayed so long. The industrial development of Alabama lays very near the hearts of our people; and we could not, if we would, shut out its essential foundation in the brawn and skill of the toiler, from a great share in our affections and our pride. (Applause.) Our people have come to know that your organizations stand not only for the social, moral, intellectual and mutual benefit of the workman himself, but are enduring pledges of public order, of mutual concession and mutual upbuilders of the employer and employed. We have learned that cheap labor is not the best labor (applause); and every city and town, however old and however wedded to the past, is clamoring for mills and factories and works that will give employment to labor that earns and is able to command the highest price. (Applause.) We have seen in more than one struggle of organized labor for higher wages, sometimes lost and sometimes won, that the organization, by whatever name it might be called, stood

for peace, order and law, and maintained them at every hazard. (Applause.) In this good year 1891 your great body, representing more than 500,000 of the best and most intelligent workmen of this Union, could have met in no State and among no people prepared to give you a more cordial welcome than that which on behalf of the people of Alabama, I now extend to each and every one of you, and through you to all whom you represent. (Applause.)

I am glad to meet so many representatives of American labor, and to have this opportunity of assuring you of the high place your cause holds among the people of this fairest of all the States of the sunny and warm-hearted South. It may be that some of you from beyond the old line that once divided this country of ours have come with ideas that you would visit a strange city and a strange people. I know you will return with the profound conviction that the brotherhood of Americans is as broad as the brotherhood of labor, and that there are now no lines to mark us as strangers any more. (Applause.)

I trust that your stay in our chief industrial city will be so pleasant that before many years you will come back again and see how much greater State and city your brother laboring men will have built beneath these sunny skies.

At the conclusion of Governor Jones' remarks there was loud and prolonged applause.

Mr. Banks, speaking for the city, said that the Mayor was unavoidably absent, and the pleasant duty of welcoming the Convention devolved upon himself. The visitors were more than welcome to the first of young Southern cities. Mr. Banks spoke very eloquently and was frequently applauded.

President Gompers responded to the hearty addresses of welcome. He heartily and eloquently thanked the Governor for the welcome to Alabama, and Mr. Banks for the welcome to Birmingham. Mr. Gompers spoke briefly, but forcibly and feelingly.

At the close of his remarks the President declared the Convention open for the transaction of business, and appointed the following committee on credentials:

O. A. Williams, A. Todtenhausen, A. B. Loebenberg, Henry White, Charles F. Bechtold.

On motion a recess was taken until 2 o'clock P. M.

FIRST DAY—Afternoon Session.

Dec. 14, 1891.

Convention called to order at 2 o'clock P. M., with President Gompers in the chair and Chris. Evans, Secretary.

Roll of officers called and the following absentees noted:

P. J. McGuire, First Vice-President, Wm. A. Carney, Second Vice-President.

Report of Committee on Credentials being called for, reported as follows:

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 14, 1891.

Mr. President—We, your Committee on Credentials, report favorably on the following delegates as being entitled to seats in the Convention.

(See list of delegates on pages 6, 7, 8.)

Respectfully submitted,
O. A. WILLIAMS,
A. TODTENHAUSEN,
CHARLES F. BECHTOLD,
A. B. LOEBENBERG,
HENRY WHITE.

Committee.

Moved that the report of the committee where seats are not questioned be adopted, and that the credentials not reported favorably by them be acted upon by the Convention. Agreed to.

The committee reported unfavorably on the credentials of the delegate from the Illinois State Federation of Labor, inasmuch as it had not paid the per capita tax. William C. Pomeroy was the delegate. Delegate John C. Harding of Chicago asked to be heard on the subject. Agreed to. He said the last Convention at Alton was very successful, and they had passed a number of good resolutions, which there had not been sufficient time to carry into practical effect. He wished to say that while they were in arrears they had given an earnest pledge of doing better in future. The Illinois Federation desired to affiliate with the American Federation.

The chairman of the committee said that the Illinois Federation had paid no money into the national treasury. A year ago the Illinois people had written a letter to the effect that they intended to withdraw from the American Federation. These two facts had influenced the committee in making its decision.

In answer to a question, President Gompers said that the constitution required that an organization should have been chartered for at least thirty days before the meeting of the national convention, and should be in good standing.

Secretary Evans said that the tax on the Illinois Federation was \$25 a year, and they now owed \$95.

Delegate Kidd moved that Mr. C. Pomeroy be allowed to speak for himself, and the motion was adopted.

Mr. Pomeroy said that he had been sent here to make the best arrangements he could. They owed \$95, and of that sum he had in his possession \$25, all the money they had in their treasury. He hoped this Convention would not act hastily. Illinois had been for four years the very seat of agitation, and they were thoroughly aroused on the question of unionism. It had been a bad year in that State. Strike after strike, benefit after benefit, had depleted the small cash reserve of the members, and they were now unable to raise all their dues. He appealed to the Convention to be charitable, to be just. Give men willing to do a chance to do. In the name of the brotherhood of labor, he asked to be seated as a delegate representing the great State of Illinois.

President Gompers then rose and stated that every organization had rules for its own government and protection. This was true of the American Federation of Labor, and its rules had not been complied with by the Illinois State Federation of Labor, and therefore Delegate Pomeroy was not entitled to a seat as delegate.

Delegate Harding then rose to speak, when the President informed him that the question was settled, unless it was desired to appeal from the decision of the chair.

Delegate Harding then appealed from the chair's decision, and followed the appeal by a statement begging the Convention to deal kindly with the Illinois Federation.

President Gompers said that he liked to be kind where kindness was not unjust. This

was not a question of sympathy. The Illinois Federation had not taken the proper steps toward gaining admission to the American Federation, and it could not be therefore legally admitted to the councils of the national body.

The Convention, on a yea and nay vote, sustained the President by a large majority.

The chairman of the committee reported adversely on the credentials of the delegate from the Chicago Building Trades Council, Mr. Hoyt Raymond, on the ground that his order had not affiliated with the American Federation.

Delegate Harding explained that the Building Trades Council of Chicago contained 12,000 members, and it would promote the interests of organized labor to admit the delegate of that Council.

The report of the committee was sustained.

The committee reported adversely on the credentials of William C. Pomeroy, as representing the American Waiters' Union No. 5108, of St. Louis, Mo.

A considerable discussion came up over this report, and the report was finally agreed to.

Mr. Pomeroy then requested permission to withdraw credentials that he had given the Secretary from other organizations, but objection was made.

The President appointed the following Committee on Rules:

John P. Jones, R. Braunschweig, Gus Langan, Daniel Harris, Harry Lloyd.

For Assistant Secretary: Sam'l R. Freeman, of Birmingham, Ala., and Robert McLaughlin, Sergeant-at-Arms.

Appointments confirmed.

Reports of President, Secretary and Treasurer were read, as follows, and, on motion, laid over to be referred to proper committees when appointed.

PRESIDENT GOMPERS' REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates to the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Unionists: Gathering in our annual conclaves and meeting as we do to-day for the first time in the history of the trade union movement in that part of our country which, but a short time ago, seldom heard the joyful sound of the hammer, the anvil and the forge, or saw the power of the steam engine, and whose industries are now being developed, it affords me more than ordinary pleasure to greet you as delegates from the organizations of wage-workers. Coming, as you do, fresh from the factories, shops, mills and mines of our country to gather in this Convention to voice the sentiments of outraged justice, seeking the right too often denied to devise the means to obtain a fair requital of the toilers' drudgery, to lighten the burden from the shoulders of the oppressed, hearkening to the wail of sorrow and despair of the woman and the child; in a word, to help on that grand struggle for the abolition of economic, social and political wrongs and the establishment of such conditions which shall be more in harmony with the aspirations of the human family. In the name of the toiling masses of our country I greet you to this Convention of the American Federation of Labor, and trust that, spurred on by the sacrifices of the past and the noble deeds of those who have gone before, we may be imbued with that judgment, earnestness and devotion to the interests of that class to which we have the honor to belong—the working class.

It becomes my duty to give an account of my stewardship of the organization for the past year, and I do so knowing full well how utterly impossible it is to give you even a faint idea of the work performed.

OUR GROWTH.

Pursuant to instructions I visited the Convention of the machinists at Pittsburg, Pa., and made a formal request to them to strike out their color line discrimination; and although they deemed it inexpedient at that time, they declared that in all probability it would be complied with at their next session.

They having failed to comply with the request, a Convention was called of Machinists' Unions, and the International Machinists' Union of America was organized and now has twenty-five branches throughout the country. The new organization is on a fair way of progress and success, but they have no desire to permanently divide the machinists of the country into two separate organizations, and have pledged themselves that, when the older organization shall eliminate the objectionable clause and be willing to amalgamate, the new one will be pleased to do so upon an honorable basis.

The Coopers' International Union has been resuscitated and placed in a position to actively further the work of organization of that craft.

The Electrical Workers were organized into a National Union, from the various local unions affiliated to the Federation.

The Carriage and Wagonmakers have organized a National Union.

The various organizations working in the "ready made" clothing industry have organized a National Union, under the title of the United Garment Workers of America, with a very great degree of success.

The Tanners and Curriers have also organized a National Union.

These and seven other National Trade Unions affiliated with the A. F. of L. within the year. A Convention will be held for the formation of National Unions from among the Metal Polishers and Street Railway Employees in the very near future.

The Federation issued 246 charters to Local Unions, 10 to National Trade Unions, and the latest reports show that the National Trade Unions issued charters to 1,040 Local Unions of their respective trades and callings, giving the Trade Union movement of the country about 12,000 Local Unions.

The committee authorized to be appointed by the last Convention to visit the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, at their Convention, held at Toronto, to invite that body to become affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, performed their duty. The committee was cordially received and resolutions adopted submitting the question to the Local Unions attached to it.

Through the courtesy of General Secretary Thomas O'Dea, I had the opportunity accorded of forwarding a special circular to their Local Unions. The matter will soon be decided by the annual gathering of that International Union, and let us hope that the decision will be favorable. There are yet a number of other International Unions, particularly the steam railroad organizations, who are not affiliated with the A. F. of L.

During the year I have striven earnestly and zealously to break down the barriers of formality and establish feelings of amity and friendship between those organizations and our Federation. I am pleased to report that never before were the relations between our organizations so friendly, and I am firmly of the belief that the time is not far distant when we shall be enabled to count upon the railroad labor organizations being allied with the great Trade Unions of our country under the banner of the American Federation of Labor.

We hope to obtain the affiliation of these organizations by earning and deserving their confidence and respect. Let us put on a show of arrogance and attempt to force them and we will drive them further from us. I recommend that this policy be continued towards all unaffiliated Trade Unions.

Some time ago blanks were forwarded to all the Trade Unions of the country for statistical information of a varied character. While the returns show a general increase in membership and a steady growth of nearly all the organizations, answers to the returns are too incomplete to permit of an exact statement of the organized trade unionists in the United States. It was my hope to be able to present such a table of information to this Convention, but, from the cause stated, I have been prevented from doing so; the incoming officers will be in a position to make that statement known to the affiliated organizations in a short time. I can now report a steady growth all along the line.

EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

Following the policy theretofore pursued, the Detroit Convention of the Federation decided upon continuing the movement for a reduction in the hours of labor of the toiling masses. The Convention decided to select the organization of a craft to demand the enforcement of the eight-hour work day on May 1st, 1891. The report of the Special Committee having that subject in hand omitted the name of any particular craft and tacitly relegated the selection to the Executive Council to be made as the exigencies of the time might warrant.

The delegates of the miners demanded that their trade be the one named; they declared that the miners were fully prepared and determined to inaugurate the movement. The Convention readily acceded to the demand, and great hopes were entertained that the enthusiasm and determination would result in the establishment of a substantial reduction in the hours of labor of the employed miners, and find work for a large number of that craft who were unemployed, and thus by successive victories give an impetus to the movement for a general reduction in the hours of labor of the entire working class, bringing them so much nearer the goal of their final aspirations.

Every facility at the command of the Executive Council was set in motion. Circulars were sent broadcast and reached every member and labor union throughout the country. The organ-

izers and unions held public and business meetings. The President of the Federation traveled from Maine to California, the combined efforts of all creating such a sentiment and feeling of earnestness and co-operation, so that every prospect for a successful inauguration of the movement seemed bright and encouraging.

While there had been vague rumors current that the miners would not make the movement, the first official or authentic information received at this office of the fact was on May 1st, the date upon which the demand was expected to be made and the movement inaugurated.

It would be idle to attempt to describe the feeling of astonishment it caused the Executive Council and disappointment manifested and chagrin felt by the organized workmen and women of our country at the announcement of the abandonment of the movement by the miners. The causes that led up to the abandonment of the movement by the miners has been mentioned in a circular and need not be reproduced here.

No doubt the representatives of the organization of that craft at this Convention will sufficiently explain the cause of their action to the satisfaction of all here assembled.

If there has been any negligence or misrepresentation on the part of the officers of the Federation or a lack of frankness on the part of any one connected with this movement the proceedings of this Convention should demonstrate it and place it in the archives of our organization, in order that the future historian of the struggles of the working class may correctly record it.

TYPOGRAPHICAL UNION.

At its last Convention the International Typographical Union adopted a resolution subject to the approval of the members of their local unions to enforce the nine-hour work day in their trade. The Executive of that organization asked the Executive Council not to pledge its financial support to any other organization pending a vote upon the proposition. The pledge was given, but owing to the state of trade and other matters beyond our knowledge, the proposition did not receive the required two-thirds majority and the movement was not made.

Since then official notice was received from the Journeymen Bakers' International Union that they proposed making application to this Convention to be selected as the trade to make a demand for the enforcement of the eight-hour work day May 1st, 1892. That matter should receive your earnest consideration.

PROGRESS OF THE MOVEMENT.

It is very gratifying to note the progress and advancement reported by the organization. While it is true that some have not made many advances nor gained many improvements for their members, it is equally true that the reports indicate continuous advantages gained which seldom find their way into public print, but are achieved without the necessity of resorting to strikes, which are unheralded, but continue ever onward, removing gradually the ills that stand as a barrier between the wage-workers and their natural rights. These small concessions and advantages gained are the silent manifestations of the continuous struggle and advancement of the Trade Union movement. The general public is not informed, and can form no conception of the work performed by our Trade Unions. They only learn of our existence when some open and public manifestation is made either upon the economic field in the cases of strikes or lockouts, or upon the political field to redress some of the grievances from which labor has suffered from time immemorial.

Although discouraged by the action of the miners, a large number of workers secured reductions in their working hours, notably the building, iron and clothing trades and surface railroad employees. The printing trade made several local movements with varying success.

It is worthy of note that, in all the answers received upon the statistical blanks sent to Trade Unions in this country, three blank spaces were provided for answers to the question: "What, in the opinion of your Union, are the three most important questions that the A. F. of L. should concentrate its efforts to secure?" While the two other answers differ materially, every Union answered: "A reduction of the hours of labor."

In my reports to the previous Conventions I have laid great stress upon the movement to inaugurate a reduction in the hours of labor of the working people. Without repeating them, I am yet impelled to impress upon your minds the importance and necessity of continuing the agitation of that most important of all questions affecting the interest of the toiling masses. We should not lose sight of the fact that there is no movement which so thoroughly affects and improves the moral, material, political and social welfare of the wage-workers as a class and the people as a whole as does the one to reduce the hours of labor.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESSES.

An International Labor Congress was held at Brussels in the early part of the year, and per instructions of the last Convention a letter was forwarded to them conveying our fraternal greetings and extending an invitation to that gathering to attend our International Labor Congress, to be held in Chicago in 1893. It was necessary to depend upon the good offices of one of our fellow Trade Unionists of Germany to see that the letter was placed before the Congress.

In my last report to the Convention attention was called to the fact that if we desired to have a successful Congress, it would be necessary to have a representative at the Brussels Congress in order to extend the invitation.

Authentic information has reached me that owing to our nonrepresentation at Brussels on the one hand, and, on the other, the misrepresentation of the character of the American Federation of Labor by one who was excluded from our last Convention, the invitation was not accepted, and they decided to hold their Congress of 1893 at some other place than the United States of America. With this I submit a copy of the letter and invitation extended to the Brussels Congress.

An invitation was forwarded to the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain and Ireland, which was held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, and a gentleman selected by the Executive Council and entrusted with this mission. An invitation was mailed to England after he had departed, and, evidently through some misunderstanding, it did not reach him. It was returned by the mails to our headquarters, and since then has again been forwarded to the Secretary of the Parliamentary Committee, Mr. Charles Fenwick, expressing the hope that the subject matter may be submitted to the Trade Unions of the country in order that definite action may be taken at the next Trade Union Congress.

The gentleman entrusted with extending the invitation to the British Trade Unions appeared there and without the formal invitation extended it verbally. A copy of the written invitation is herewith submitted.

In connection with the holding of our International Labor Congress, at Chicago, in 1893, it is necessary to again call attention to the fact that it will require the personal visitations of a representative of the American Federation of Labor in order to ensure a full representation from our fellow Unionists throughout the world.

I have no doubt but that our Congress of 1893 will be a creditable one, but with the exacting attention to the detail and general work of the Federation, it is not possible for the regular officers to give the matter that attention which the magnitude of the project requires. It will necessitate the almost constant work of one officer to keep up with the increasing correspondence upon the subject and to prepare the arrangements for the holding of a successful International Labor Congress. The Executive Council should be authorized to select a competent member to carry on the work here outlined and to work under its directions.

This Convention also should elect or instruct the Executive Council to select a member to visit the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain, the Trade Union Congress of Germany, which is to be held in the Spring of 1892, and such other Labor Conventions as the Executive Council may deem advisable for the purpose of urging representation by the organized working people of the countries mentioned and referred to.

In connection with this subject I desire to recommend the advisability of this Convention setting the time more definitely for the holding of the International Labor Congress. Say the first week of September or May of 1893, thus including either the American or European Labor Day.

LABOR'S INTERESTS, INTERNATIONALLY.

In connection with the eight-hour movement inaugurated by us and in consequence of the letter authorized by the St. Louis Convention to be sent to the International Labor Congress of 1889, the organized working people of Europe have resolved and now formally observe May 1st of each year as a regular annual labor holiday, in a measure equal to the observance of Labor Day by the working men in the several States in the Union.

At the last Trade Union Congress, held at Newcastle-on-Tyne, England, the following resolution was adopted:

"That in the opinion of this Congress the time has arrived when the Government of the United Kingdom should endeavor to bring about, in conjunction with all foreign governments, an international reduction in the hours of labor to eight hours per day; and, further, demand the convocation of an international conference for the purpose."

Since all legislation or action taken by Trade Unions in any part of the world affects the Trade Unions of America, all being governed by one common polity, and since the resolution calls for an international conference of the representatives of the governments of all countries, it appears to me that the subject matter should receive earnest consideration, and some action decided upon. We should never lose sight of the internationality and identity of the wage-workers of all countries.

All through the world the working men are emerging from their gloom of despair and grasping the first opportunities that present themselves to organize Trade Unions. In England, the birthplace of the Trade Unions, there are now nearly 2,000,000 organized Trade Unionists. In France, the *Chambre des Ouvriers* was never better organized than to-day. In Germany, surrounded by legal restrictions and against the machinations of government officials, the working people now have a Trade Union movement allied in a federation similar in many respects to the A. F. of L., and numbering nearly 250,000 members. In Belgium, Italy and Spain and many other countries we have but the beginning of the first manifestations of the Trade Union movement.

CONVICT LABOR.

Within the past few months the question of convict labor has been conspicuously brought before the attention of the American people by the action of the miners of Tennessee in forcibly refusing to allow the convicts in that State to work in the mines.

The miners have gradually seen the convicts brought into the mining regions, their already scant wages reduced, and their work taken from them and given to the convicts to perform. To a greater or lesser degree the same evil prevails in all our States. The policy of the States seems to be to provide work for the convict; the free man may be flung out of employment, pauperized and demoralized, in too many instances beyond the hope of redemption, for the mere sake that a few paltry dollars may be "saved" to the State, that it and its corporate favorites may make fortunes at the expense and of the honor of the people. Vulturelike, the fallen and degraded are their prey. Under the constitutional provision giving Congress the right to regulate the commerce between the States, the labor of convicts could be prevented from being permitted to enter any other State. I would recommend that this subject of convict labor in all its phases receive your earnest consideration, and special attention given to devise means by which this unfair system can be abated or abolished.

UNFAIR IMMIGRATION.

We are confronted with a condition of affairs in reference to immigration which is indeed appalling, and should command the earnest and sincere consideration of the delegates to this Convention.

The time was when the American people could declare that the United States should be a haven for the oppressed of all nations and invite all who desired to seek a new home to come to our shores. At that time the industries of our country were intirely in their infancy, our lands were undeveloped, our resources greater than we even knew. The people who came did so of their own volition, they cast their fortunes with those already here, harmonized and blended with them. To-day, however, there is not an industry which is not overcrowded with working people who vainly plead for an opportunity to work. This is not only confined to the factories, workshops, mills, mines and stores; the same complaint can be heard arising from the farm lands, and all join in one mighty cry that relief must come.

On the other hand we see artificial famines in some of the older countries caused by the vast holdings of the titled wealthy class. While the masses starve the tyrannical autocrats and effete monarchs bolster up their miserable dynasties by forcing immigration, while their willing tools furnish the means to aid them out of their respective countries, and as they cannot go to many other countries in Europe, and owing to the laxity of public spirit and a recognition of the dangers that threaten us, they are literally "dumped" upon our shores. There are societies formed for that special purpose, who forward at least ten thousand emigrants each month, and again the ship companies by the wiles known to the cunning speculator, improperly stimulate unnecessary and unhealthy immigration.

Then again, the great corporations which, in violation of the law, enter into written and implied contracts for servile labor to crowd and compete with the employed, and large masses of unemployed working people of our country. To crown the wrong some of the officers of the United States Government charged with the enforcement of the law to prevent improper immigration, showed a lack of sympathy with the law, connived at its violation, and sought to bring the whole law and the spirit of the law into utter ridicule and contempt. Quite recently, spurred on by organized labor, a better effort is made to enforce the law.

There are ways and means by which, without bigotry, narrowness and a spirit of "Know-nothingism," these wrongs can be remedied, and they can and should be formulated. One officer of the general government should have undivided authority and, be held responsible for the enforcement of the law.

I view the immigration problem not from the mere selfish standpoint of our own protection, but I am persuaded that it not only tends to destroy the independence, progress and advancement of our people, but also is an efficient means by which the effete institutions of some of the European countries are perpetuated, and thus economical, political and social reforms postponed or avoided.

In my judgment the delegates to this Convention representing the organized wage-workers of our country should voice their sentiments in unmistakable tones, and declare that we will have relief from this pressing evil.

POLITICAL CONFERENCES.

Early in the year invitations were received by the Executive Council to attend two political conferences, to be held in Washington, D. C., and Cincinnati, O. We believed that we had no right to commit the affiliated Unions to a policy which the Convention of the Federation had not yet decided upon, and that it was not within the province of the Executive Council to either officially or unofficially accept these invitations or attend these conferences. We believed, as we now believe, that the Executive Council are the servants of the Trade Unions, and not their masters or dictators.

The course pursued in this matter was rather severely criticised by those whose system of organization is the reverse and the antithesis of the American Federation of Labor. The Trade Unions are democratic and not autocratic in their methods and tendencies. The officers help to formulate, not dictate, policies which the rank and file are bound to follow.

POLITICAL ACTION.

Evidently an erroneous impression has gone forth as to the action of the Detroit Convention upon the question of political action. Some have purposely misconstrued the resolution and action of that Convention. They have pretended to say that the Federation had declared against political action by the working people.

Such was not the action taken, nor was any word expressed at the last Convention against any action of a political nature which the working people may desire to take. Our affiliated Unions are guaranteed autonomy and independence. If they deem independent political action advisable, or if they desire to take political action by which to pledge candidates for public offices, to stand by the advocates of labor measures and reward them, or to punish at the polls those who are inimical to their interests, these are matters entirely relegated to each organization, without dictation or hindrance.

What the Convention declared was, that a political party, as a party, known by any name, has no right to representation in the Trade Union councils. That position is in line with the policy of the labor movement. It is recognized the world over in the Trade Union movement. It is recognized by a large majority of the political party which forced this question to an issue, and advocated by only a very few, who desire to make the Trade Unions the tale to their political kite.

At the last Convention I took the ground that the Trade Unions were broad enough and liberal enough to admit of all shades of thought upon the economic, political and social questions. I reiterate that statement, and accentuate it with whatever force or ability may be at

my command, and repeat, that good standing membership in a Trade Union is the first qualification to a voice in the councils of the Trade Union movement.

WOMAN'S LABOR.

One of the consequences of modern industry has been the forcing of women and girls into the factories and workshops, not that the result may inure to their benefit, but to the injury of the male workers.

Hood's "Song of the Shirt" has just as much cause to be sung to-day as it had when written, and when it caused a thrill to humanity and cast a blush upon the cheeks of the people. Now, however, we trace the cause of the wrongs inflicted upon the women workers, and find that it is due to a lack of that one factor, by which it is at all possible to raise them from the sloughs of poverty, despair and helplessness, namely—organization.

The lack of organization among our sisters of labor is the main cause of their misery, and the unfair discrimination in the wages paid and consideration given to them.

I commend to your consideration the absolute necessity of taking special action looking to a systematic agitation for the organization of the women wage-workers. To give a clearer insight to the delegates to this Convention, invitations have been extended to two women (who have given this question particular study) to read a brief paper each before this Convention.

CHILD LABOR.

There have been several laws passed by our State legislatures in the interest of the working people, particularly those which secure the wages of the working people through a lien on the product of the laborer; in a few instances the age being raised before which children can be employed at any occupation. There is much to be desired in this latter instance, since, in many cases, exceptions have been made in the application of the laws to "mercantile establishments." The employment of children at young and tender ages in the stores and basements of mercantile houses is just as barbarous and inhuman as it is in the factory and workshop, and should be prohibited.

Congress having been so thoroughly engrossed with the tariff question, there has been no opportunity for a discussion being had upon the constitutional amendment to prohibit the labor of children, and it was therefore deemed inadvisable to introduce the amendment at the last session. The incoming Executive should have the amendment introduced in the present Congress.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

The petition to Congress in favor of submitting an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to the several States for ratification, granting the right of suffrage to women, was printed and circulated. It affords me pleasure to say that the petition was signed by more than two hundred and seventy thousand organized workmen, and placed in the hands of the committee having that subject specially in charge.

It is not vain to hope that the time is not far distant when women, who are amenable to the laws of our country and States, shall have the right of a voice in framing them equal to her brother.

JEFFERSON BORDEN MUTINEERS.

Pursuant to instructions a delegation waited upon the President of the United States and presented a petition for executive clemency for Geo. Miller and E. W. Clark, and an opportunity was given us for an oral hearing by the President. We were received cordially, the President assuring us that the matter will receive his earnest consideration as soon as that portion of his duties in connection with the convening of Congress will permit. This case presents one of brutality and tyranny exercised over the two seamen, which is of a too common practice in our merchant marine service. The men who go down to the sea in ships have very few to say a word for them in public life, and it behooves us as the representatives of the wage-workers of the country to stand by them, to see that they are fairly treated, that when punishment is inflicted upon them for any offense it shall not be as brutal and unjustifiable as the autocratic "master", of the ship usually deals out to the men.

ASSESSMENTS.

In compliance with the resolution of the last Convention the law for the assistance of Local Trade Unions affiliated to the Federation, in cases of difficulties, was drafted and submitted to the Executive Council, who approved it. The matter would have been submitted to the local Unions for approval were it not for the fact that about that time a feeling of dissatisfaction was manifested on the part of several of our National and International Unions with the existing law of assessments, some of the Union's officers stating their determination to propose the repeal of the law at this Convention. In consequence, it seemed that it would be placing our organization in a peculiar position in providing for a defense fund for Local Unions, if the assessment and defense funds were to be abolished by the National Unions, hence I deemed it advisable to await the action of this Convention before submitting the law to a vote of the Local Unions. In any event, even should this Convention maintain the present assessment law for trade difficulties, it would be wise to have the proposed law submitted to a committee representing Local Unions in this Convention.

HIGHER DUES AND THEIR RESULTS.

In connection with the subject of taxation and assessments of affiliated Unions to support each other when engaged in trade difficulties to defend their position against the encroachments

of their employers, or to make advances to promote and improve their condition, I desire to add what I have often repeated both in my reports to previous Conventions and elsewhere, that those Unions which have a good financial system have ever been on the increase in their membership. That there is no means by which the reductions in wages are prevented and ever keeps onward and forward in its growth, influence and power to maintain and raise the vantage ground of their members than high dues.

It is false economy to suppose that success in a Trade Union results from small initiation fees and low dues. It is idle to imagine and at variance with experience that organizations grow when the initiation fees and dues of Unions are small. It may be true that a Union may be organized and gain a number in its fold upon the cry of low dues, but I am sure the history of the labor movement will demonstrate beyond a doubt that such organizations have been but of a transitory character.

Our Unions should charge a fair initiation fee and high dues. It is likely that they will not receive large accessions of membership spasmodically, but the growth will be steady and continuous. From the large dues paid our Unions should and can be of permanent benefit to their members. Our Trade Unions should contain the benevolent as well as the protective features. They should be the defenders and protectors of the wage-workers in every sphere of life. It has been ably said that in all past history it has always been the "remnant" in society that has saved it from retrogression and barbarism. So with the Trade Unions; they are the "remnant" in the present society that must save the people from retrogression and barbarism. Our Trade Unions are the germs of the future society based upon honesty, fair dealing and a broader conception of human rights.

FREE SPEECH AND ASSEMBLAGE.

Within the past few years there has been a direct purpose and what appears to be a tacit understanding among the authorities of our several States and municipalities to violate one of the fundamental principles and rights guaranteed to the people. The right of free assemblage and free speech has been won at the sacrifice of thousands of lives and of fortunes untold. Yet the right of free speech and free assemblage is as much in question to-day as it was centuries ago.

We may have little, if any, sympathy with the expressions of those who are opposed to our system of government, or we may be their outspoken antagonists, but we should at all times maintain the constitutional rights of the people, of free speech and free assemblage. It requires but a stretch of authority to interfere and break up the meetings of our Unions as was recently the case with the Painters' Union of Chicago, and still others reported to us.

K. OF L. PROPOSITIONS.

A few days ago a communication was received from the officers of the Knights of Labor containing a series of resolutions. They are in the nature of propositions to this convention for a mutual recognition of cards and labels issued by that organization or by the American Federation of Labor or its affiliated unions.

These propositions have been extensively published and widely discussed. My views of them are too well known to require a reiteration of them here. I prefer to and do submit them to you herewith for such action as you in your judgment may take, uninfluenced by any words of mine.

LOCAL CENTRAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

Experience has shown that Local Central Labor Organizations have been vastly beneficial auxiliaries to the labor movement. Their organization should be cultivated and promoted.

In a few instances, however, it must be noted that some of the Local Unions attached to National and International Unions, affiliated to the American Federation of Labor, instead of co-operating with those organizations with which they have a common polity and interest, have used their power and influence to not only antagonize other affiliated Unions, but have also directly antagonized the work, interest and laws of the American Federation of Labor.

I would recommend the passage of a law or resolution by this Convention that would express the sense of this body that all affiliated organizations should more closely combine and use their influence to further our general movement, and that any Local Union failing to act upon that principle should not receive the aid and influence of this Federation in any matter to advance its interests until the Union returns to its duty.

PERMANENT CENSUS.

A few weeks ago the Superintendent of the Census of the United States wrote, stating that the Senate of the United States adopted a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Interior to advise the Senate upon the feasibility of having a permanent Census Bureau. The subject matter was referred to the Superintendent of the Census, and he asked my views as President of the American Federation of Labor upon the subject.

Since the answer was necessary to be made and incorporated in the reports of the Department before the opening of the present session of the Fifty-second Congress, I answered, stating therein that I would submit the subject for the approval or disapproval of this Convention. My answer in substance was, that to secure accurate data the Department should necessarily be a permanent one; that the discharge of the officials each decennial wasted the experience gained; that the Census Bureau could perhaps be more advantageously conducted under the direction of the Department of Labor, such as is now done in Massachusetts, and that the enumeration of the population could be ascertained early and made public at once, while the other statistical information could be issued from time to time with greater accuracy and economy than is now possible.

The letter of the Superintendent, together with a copy of my reply, is herewith submitted to your consideration, with the request that you will formulate either an endorsement, modification or disapproval of the position taken.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

In many States Bureaus of Labor Statistics have been created, and, as a rule, the work commendably performed. We now have 28 Bureaus of Labor Statistics in the United States besides the Department of Labor at Washington.

In connection with this subject it would be well to consider the advisability of having the several State Bureaus more intimately associated by a law and common policy with the United States Department of Labor. By such a system we could have a greater degree of uniformity and a given subject investigated simultaneously by the various bureaus, and thus carry out the idea suggested in having the census of the United States carried on by a permanent Department of Labor with the co-operation of the various State Bureaus of Labor Statistics.

LABOR DAY.

The first Monday in September being now so generally recognized by law and custom as a holiday in our several States, it seems to me that this Convention should demand the passage of a law by Congress recognizing that day as a legal holiday in the District of Columbia and the Territories under the direct jurisdiction of the general Government of the United States.

UNION LABELS.

The last Convention directed that a label be issued for the product of the members of the American Federation of Labor who have no other label of their own. Although the label has not been in great demand, I attribute it to the fact that we have had very little opportunity to make its issuance generally known.

In connection with the issuance of the label it would be proper to call your attention to the fact that a decision was recently rendered by a Justice of the Supreme Court of the State of Pennsylvania, which, if allowed to stand, would be one of the severest blows which could be inflicted upon the rights of organized labor. It questions our right to issue a label certifying to the character of the product bearing it. In fact, the decision of Judge Williams is, that inasmuch as the wage-workers do not *own* the product, they cannot have a label certifying to the character of the labor employed in its production. A more unjust decision, in the interest of the wealth possessors, and against the wealth producers, has seldom been rendered even in the darkest days of jurisprudence.

Your attention is called to this decision because if it is upheld it will render nugatory all efforts to place a label on the product of Union labor. It is probably the first time that forgery and counterfeiting have been given judicial and official sanction.

The officers of the ensuing term should be empowered to co-operate with the affiliated Unions in order to secure such legislation as may be necessary to overcome the obstacles presented or a reversal of the decision of the Court in question.

PACIFIC COAST.

When on the lecture tour in the miners' interests, I reached San Francisco, I placed myself in communication with the Executive of the Brewery Workmen's Union of the Pacific Coast, and endeavored earnestly to work to bring about a settlement of the differences between them and the National Brewery Workmen's Union. The subject matter necessitated a number of visits and a large amount of correspondence.

I regret very much to say that no adjudication of the trouble has been accomplished thus far. I deem this case of sufficient importance to bring it before the attention of this Convention, because of the resolution passed at the Detroit Convention in suspending the Federated Trades Council of the Pacific Coast from the American Federation of Labor, because it admitted to representation the Brewery Workers' Union of the Pacific Coast.

Since last year a Convention was held of all the Unions of the Pacific Coast, taking in an area from Spokane, Washington, to and inclusive of California and British Columbia. That Convention practically established a "Federation" outside of the American Federation of Labor, and I see in it, (unless some arrangement is made by which the difficulties referred to shall be adjusted) two organizations with the same purposes in view, having Local Unions represented in each, and which scarcely can work on parallel lines.

Sooner or later greater conflicts will arise, and instead of fraternally aiding each other we may see internecine strife in the Trade Union movement of our country.

I trust that this matter will receive your earnest consideration, and that you will make some action which may, in a measure, bring peace and unity with the Brewery Workers' Unions which are primarily in interest in this matter, and from which the whole Trade Union movement will either be benefited or injured.

BOYCOTTS.

Upon the question of boycotts I desire to impress upon your mind the resolution adopted at the St. Louis Convention upon the report of the committee having that subject under consideration.

Every local organization seems to take upon itself the right to levy boycotts and spread them before the entire country. It seems to me that before people should be asked to taboo a product of any firm, opportunity should be given for investigation, and no boycott recognized unless approved by the Conventions, or the Executive Council in the interim of the Conventions of the Federation.

The boycott is a very powerful weapon in the hands of the wage workers, but if put on a firm unfairly, promiscuously or without investigation it is likely to react upon us and destroy the usefulness of that method to obtain our rights.

Then again, organizations entirely foreign and antagonistic to the Trade Unions and the American Federation of Labor have depended in a large degree in carrying out boycotts to a successful termination upon the Trade Unions affiliated to the American Federation of Labor.

Several boycotts placed on unfair firms by the American Federation of Labor have terminated successfully.

I trust that this Convention will take some action by which it will distinctly formulate decisive action in reference to the levying and supporting of boycotts.

A. F. OF L. GENERAL ORGANIZERS.

It would be manifestly unjust were I not to take this opportunity of commending the work performed by the wage-workers who, in a spirit of valor and self-sacrifice, have without reward, or hope of reward, accepted commissions as general organizers for the American Federation of Labor, and who have done heroic and noble work to advance the great cause of Unionism.

I cannot find words sufficiently expressive to convey my appreciation of their nobleness of character and disinterested efforts in extending the beneficent effects of organization among our fellow-workers.

CONCLUSION.

In concluding this report, and placing in your hands the work performed in the past year, I desire to take occasion to say that I am keenly mindful of the fact that, without the co-operation of my colleagues on the Executive Council and the officers of the Trade Unions of our country, much of the good work done could not have been successful.

We stand before the world to-day aggressively declaring our unalterable determination to work out in the lines laid down to secure the gradual amelioration and final emancipation of the toiling masses. In that work it behooves us to be ever on the alert, always willing to perform our duties, each contributing his share of effort and good will, and if necessary sacrifices towards the advancement of our grand movement and the attainment of the objects of our great cause.

To those who may look forward and sometimes become discouraged I appeal to take a retrospective glance and see what advances we have already made, what inroads in the citadels of the enemy have already been achieved, and we will all be nerved on to still greater efforts in the impending struggles, fully convinced that the future is ours.

SECRETARY EVANS' ANNUAL REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow-Workersmen.—As representatives of the Trades Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, we are called together again in compliance with the provisions made by our Constitution, and it gives me pleasure to meet the delegates here assembled on this occasion.

In presenting my annual report for your consideration I shall endeavor to make it as brief as I can, and at the same time comprehensive enough to embrace every feature of the finances of our organization in a manner that will do justice to myself and the constituents represented at this annual meeting. In accord with my duties as Secretary, financial reports have been published every quarter giving a detailed account of our finances and sent to all unions affiliated.

During the term ending October 31st, 1891, 246 charters have been issued to unions in thirty States as follows:

Arkansas	5	Mississippi	7
Connecticut	2	Maine	2
Colorado	4	Montana	1
Dist. of Columbia	2	New York	28
Georgia	2	New Jersey	3
Illinois	18	New Mexico	3
Indiana	26	Ohio	55
Iowa	2	Pennsylvania	16
Kansas	2	Rhode Island	1
Kentucky	2	Tennessee	4
Louisiana	3	Texas	1
Massachusetts	8	Virginia	2
Michigan	21	Wisconsin	8
Missouri	6	Washington	5
Minnesota	4	West Virginia	3

Charters have also been granted to ten National Unions, which make a total of 256 during the year.

The following statement will show receipts and expenses from November 1, 1890, to October 31, 1891:

RECEIPTS.

Per Capita Tax and Supplies	\$12,731.30
Assessments Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5	1,636.32
Assessment No. 6	2,907.22
Donations	427.52
Balance on hand Nov. 1, 1890	3,644.07
Total Receipts	\$21,346.43

EXPENDITURES.

Printing	\$1,023.50
Supplies	2,279.74
Stationery	89.00
Fixtures, etc., for Office	268.22
Telegrams	110.56
Expressage	267.35
Postage and Stamped Envelopes	621.80
Rent, Fuel, Gas, etc.	567.14
Salaries and Clerk Hire	4,597.40
Traveling and Organizing	1,135.95
Strike Assistance (Loaned)	2,060.00
Strike Assistance (Donated)	330.00
Miscellaneous	139.41
Total	\$13,190.07
Balance	\$ 8,156.36

In looking over the above statement it will be observed that \$4,543.54 has been received for assessments and \$427.52 donated, making a total of \$5,071.06. From this amount \$2,000 has been loaned to the United Mine Workers of America; \$60 to the Saddle and Harness Makers' National Union; \$230 donated to the Architectural Iron Workers' Union No. 5211, and \$100 to the Saddle and Harness Makers' National Union, making a total loaned and donated of \$2,390. By deducting the loans and donations made from the amount of assessments and donations received, we have a balance of \$2,681.06 for assessments, and by adding to this amount \$1,647.24 assessments in the treasury from last year we have a total of \$4,328.30 for assessments and \$3,828.06 in the general fund, leaving a total balance in the treasury of \$8,156.36.

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY.

1887.	
Total Receipts	\$2,100.34
Total Expenses	2,074.39
Balance	\$25.95
1888.	
Total Receipts	\$4,538.50
Total Expenses	3,933.67
Balance	\$604.83
1889.	
Total Receipts	\$7,443.23
Total Expenses	6,578.33
Balance	\$864.90
1890.	
Total Receipts	\$24,714.64
Total Expenses	21,070.57
Balance	\$3,644.07
1891.	
Total Receipts	\$21,346.43
Total Expenses	13,190.07
Balance	\$8,156.36

In addition to the loans and donations made, as above stated, I beg to inform you that during the strike of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners at Pittsburg, Pa., Bro. P. J. McGuire, General Secretary, asked the Executive Council for a loan of \$3,500 to assist the carpenters in their struggle at that time with the understanding that the money be returned.

The Executive Council agreed to make the loan on condition named, and the money was loaned and returned as agreed upon.

At the request of the United Mine Workers' officials two thousand dollars were loaned to them during the strike of the Iowa miners on the following conditions:

"That the A. F. of L. will loan the U. M. W. of A. the sum of two thousand dollars to aid the Iowa striking miners, and that if the forthcoming convention of the A. F. of L. decides

that the sum shall be donated to your organization that course shall be pursued; but if, on the other hand, the convention should decide not to donate the money, the U. M. W. of A. to return the same to the A. F. of L. In the meantime, and until the convention has decided upon the matter, the money to be regarded simply as a loan."

The above proposition was accepted and the money forwarded to the secretary as per request, and remains for the decision of this convention.

In concluding this report, I desire to express my thanks for kind assistance rendered by all members of the Executive Council in the discharge of my duties. Our relations have been of the most friendly kind in all our business transactions and are highly appreciated.

The work of the past year has developed many things that will serve to educate and help to formulate legislation for the wage earners. That mistakes have been made no one will question, but in the discussions that will arise during the proceedings of our present annual gathering, let our motto be legislation for the relief of the masses as against the selfish greed of the few; let the knowledge we have gained by bitter experience act as a guide for us in the future to avoid as much as possible a repetition of the errors of the past.

The Trade Union Movement is doing a noble work in the line of reform. We are not making as rapid progress as we should. We are reducing the misery and degradation of the wage earning class, however (the statement to the contrary notwithstanding). Let us move onward. Press our claims for justice to the wealth producers, and follow the lines marked out by the Trades Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor and success is ours.

Truly yours,

CHRIS. EVANS, Secretary.

TREASURER'S REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Brothers:—During the year I have acted as Treasurer of the A. F. of L. the following amounts have been received by me from Secretary Chris. Evans, and the warrants given in this report have been paid:

1890.

RECEIPTS.

Nov. 1,	Balance received from Treasurer H. Emrich.....	\$3,644 07
Nov. 5,	Received from Treasurer H. Emrich	179 92
Nov. 26,	Received from Treasurer H. Emrich	284 74
Nov. 29,	Received from Treasurer H. Emrich.....	1,049 70
Dec. 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	1,051 61
Dec. 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	595 92

1891.

Jan. 28,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	673 61
Jan. 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	1,481 26
Jan. 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	20 00
Feb. 13,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	108 30
Feb. 28,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	776 63
Mar. 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	993 81
Apr. 30,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	1,759 99
May 20,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	236 99
May 30,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	1,592 48
June 30,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	1,609 86
July 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	17541 21
July 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	1 65
Aug. 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	1,024 45
Sept. 8,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	363 92
Sept. 30,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	990 05
Oct. 31,	Cash from Chris. Evans.....	1,456 26

Total Receipts\$21,346 43

1890.

EXPENSES.

Nov. 31,	Paid Warrants, 397-424.....	\$ 680 57
Dec. 31,	Paid Warrants, 425-473.....	1,051 61

1891.

Jan. 31,	Paid Warrants, 474-520.....	1,348 88
Feb. 28,	Paid Warrants, 521-544.....	715 59
Mar. 31,	Paid Warrants, 545-576.....	994 81
Apr. 30,	Paid Warrants, 577-613.....	1,261 86
May 30,	Paid Warrants, 614-655.....	1,394 16
June 30,	Paid Warrants, 656-695.....	2,858 42
July 31,	Paid Warrants, 696-725.....	558 76
Aug. 31,	Paid Warrants, 726-757.....	921 90
Sept. 30,	Paid Warrants, 758-792.....	705 88
Oct. 31,	Paid Warrants, 793-829.....	701 63

Total Expenses\$13,190 07

Income\$21,346 43

Expenses13,190 07

Nov. 1, Balance in hands of Treasurer\$ 8,156 36

The above financial statement shows the Federation to be in a healthy condition, and gives a very creditable increase in the funds since the last convention.

As Treasurer of the Federation, and with the additional knowledge derived from acting as a member of the Executive Council, I most respectfully recommend for your careful consideration the advisability of striking out of the Constitution of the Federation all of Article VIII, "Strikes and Lockouts."

First. Because I believe said article to be in direct conflict with the fundamental principle of the Federation guaranteeing the autonomy of each affiliated organization.

Second. Because the collection of such assessments can only be made from a few of the strongest organizations.

Third. Because the amount that can be so collected is so small that it is only a delusion to organizations that depend upon it for assistance in case of any great strike or lock-out.

Fourth. Because so long as the Federation has such a law most of the Unions in trouble will apply for assistance, and the necessity of refusal by the Federation Council causes discontent and luke-warmness in the fealty toward the Federation of the Unions refused assistance.

Fifth. For the further reason that I am thoroughly convinced that the energies of the Federation can be devoted in other channels than interfering with strikes that will more rapidly and permanently enhance the welfare and prosperity of the Federation and every organization affiliated therewith.

I would further call your attention to the fact that there are still a number of great National and International Unions not affiliated with the Federation, and would recommend that this Convention adopt some aggressive plan of campaign in order to convince such Unions of the necessity of solidarity in the labor movement and secure their affiliation.

In conclusion, I desire to express my hearty appreciation of the many courtesies and kindnesses received from President Gompers and Secretary Evans during my term of office, also to the other members of the Executive Council for the uniform cordiality with which they have at all times acted toward me. Hoping my administration of the business as Treasurer of the Federation will meet with your approval, I remain,

Fraternally yours,

JOHN B. LENNON, Treasurer.

Report of Committee on Credentials continued. Committee reported in favor of seating Adam Bunner as delegate for Federal Labor Union No. 5368, Newark, Ohio. Report was concurred in.

Committee on Credentials recommended the consideration of the case of the Pacific Coast Union to the Convention.

Recommendation was concurred in, and on motion, the delegate was allowed to state his case to the Convention.

Delegate Furuseth, of San Francisco, went fully into the question, dealing exhaustively with the facts, and appealing to the Convention to deal justly by his people. He made an exceedingly clear, eloquent and forcible speech—a speech remarkable for its logic, and absence of superfluous phrases.

Delegate Bechtold entered his protest against the admission of the San Francisco delegate. He said it would be obnoxious to the National Brewers' Union.

Delegate Williams, of the Committee on Credentials, said Mr. Bechtold had frankly told him that he felt it his duty to protest against the admission of the San Francisco delegate. But Mr. Williams had been assured by Mr. E. T. Plank, for years President of the International Typographical Union, that the San Francisco delegate represented the right, and he believed Mr. Plank.

Delegate Lennon said the question was one of great interest to labor in the United States. He testified that there was a growing desire

on the Pacific Coast for independent action, and the admission of the delegates from San Francisco would check that spirit and finally wipe it out. For the good of the labor movement, he hoped the delegate would be admitted.

Delegate Carney did not wish to oppose the seating of the San Francisco delegate, but he questioned the wisdom of such action. They should be careful lest they encourage insubordination. They should not let sympathy lead them astray.

Delegate Valentine, San Francisco, believed that if any local union was guilty of insubordination it should be suspended. The San Francisco Brewers' Union had been suspended for not paying an assessment, not on account of the money involved, but because they knew it to be unjust. Money was no object in the matter.

Delegate Harris, New York, had been instructed by the people he represented to protest against the admission of the San Francisco delegate. The assessment under discussion had not been levied illegally. The National Brewers' Union was in affiliation with the American Federation, and it should be sustained in its fight with an insubordinate union.

Delegate Currier, Chicago, thought the matter ought to be referred to a special committee for consideration and report.

Delegate Jones moved that a special com-

mittee be appointed to act in the matter, and report Tuesday morning.

Delegate Delabar opposed the motion. He thought the Convention intelligent and well informed enough to act directly. They had nothing to do with the quarrel between the National Brewers' organization and a local society; they had to do with the constitutional question involved. It was contrary to the constitution of the American Federation of Labor for any general organization to harbor a suspended local association.

Delegate Dold, Aurora, favored the admission of the San Francisco delegate.

Delegate Doherty favored the appointment of a special committee.

Delegate Foster raised the point of order that the matter had been settled at Detroit last year, and the question could now be reached only by a motion to reconsider the action of the Detroit Convention in suspending the Trades Council.

The chair decided that the point of order was not well taken.

Delegate Lloyd, of Boston, thought that before the delegates could be legally seated they would have to obtain the consent of the International Brewers. He thought that discipline should be enforced. Trade-unionism depended for life upon discipline.

After the discussion ended, it was moved that upon the payment of the tax they were in arrears that the delegate be seated.

Moved that the matter be referred to a special committee of five, to be appointed, and report to-morrow morning, December 15, 1891.

An amendment by Delegate Foster, that the suspension of the Pacific Coast Union be temporarily removed pending decision of Executive Council, was ruled out of order.

After considerable discussion on the subject, the previous question being called, the motion to refer was adopted and the committee appointed, as follows.

H. Blackmore, J. J. Byron, F. H. Smead, J. E. Faulkner, W. E. Shields.

Upon motion, the Convention adjourned until 9 A. M., December 15, 1891.

SECOND DAY—Morning Session.

December 15, 1891.

Convention called to order, with President Gompers in the chair, at 9 A. M.

On roll being called the following delegates were absent:

Currier, Cavanagh, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Byron, McGuire, Kliver, Applehagan, McNeill, Strigel, Delabar, Speyer, Skiffington, McGill, Foster, Thos. I. Kidd, Lanagan, Carney, Doherty, Stillman, Boyer, Frank A. Kidd, Robertson, D. Harris, Beisenherz, Lobenberg, McBride, Rae, Jones, Lennon, Faulkner, Burtt, DeVore, White.

Minutes of previous day's sessions were read and approved.

Communication from J. J. Alston, Tuscaloosa, Ala., was read and ordered filed.

The following telegram from the Waiters' and Bartenders' National Union was read and ordered placed on the minutes:

New York, Dec. 13, 1891.

Samuel Gompers, President, and Delegates of American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, Erswell's Hall, Birmingham.

Fellow Workmen—Greetings. The Waiters' and Bartenders' National Union of the United States, unable to be represented by delegation, conveys hearty sympathies and best wishes toward the success of your endeavors for the emancipation of wage-workers.

JULIUS LECKEL,
National Secretary.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RULES.

Moved that owing to the absence of the report that the rules of the former Convention of the A. F. of L. be adopted pending the report of committee. Agreed to.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON PACIFIC COAST UNION.

Committee reported progress and asked for further time, which was granted.

Auditing Committee made the following report:

REPORT OF AUDITING COMMITTEE.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 14, 1891.

To the Officers and Delegates of the A. F. of L.:

Mr. McNamara, one of the committee appointed as an auditor by the Executive Council, not being present, we, the undersigned, proceed with our work of auditing the books, papers and accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer.

Gentlemen—We, your committee, appointed by the Executive Council to audit the accounts of the Secretary and Treasurer of this body for the past twelve months, beg leave to state that we have carefully examined the same. We have found the books in good order and carefully kept and the finances in such shape as to leave no doubt in our minds as to the efficiency and trustworthiness of

your Secretary and Treasurer. The result of our labors are as follows:

Balance in Treasurer's hands at last report	\$ 3,644.07
Per capita Tax and Supplies.....	12,731.30
Assessments Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5..	1,636.32
Assessment No. 6	2,907.22
Donations	427.52

Total receipts	\$21,346.43
Total amount of expenditures ..	13,190.07

Balance on hand	\$ 8,156.36
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Thanking your worthy Secretary for valuable assistance, your committee respectfully submit the above report.

G. E. STILLMAN,
GEO. L. NORTON,
Committee.

On motion, report was received and ordered printed in the proceedings.

Owing to the absence of S. Freeman, Assistant Secretary, Mr. Jerri Dennis, was appointed Assistant Secretary and the appointment was approved by the Convention.

On part of the Committee on Rules, Delegate Daniel Harris made the following report:

To the Officers and Delegates of the Convention:

Your Committee on Rules beg leave to make the following rules for the governing of this Convention:

1. The Convention shall be called to order at 9 A. M., adjourn at 12 M. to reassemble at 2 P. M. and to continue in session until 5 P. M.
2. Every delegate when he rises to speak shall respectfully address the Chair. While speaking he shall confine himself to the question.
3. Should two or more rise to speak at the same time the Chair shall decide who is entitled to the floor.
4. No delegate shall interrupt another in his remarks, unless it be to call him to order.
5. If a delegate while speaking be called to order he shall, at the request of the Chair, take his seat until the question of order is determined, when, if permitted, he may proceed again.
6. A delegate shall not speak more than once on the same subject or question, until all who wish to speak shall have had an opportunity to do so; nor more than twice without permission from the house; nor any longer than five minutes at one time; without permission.
7. A question shall not be subject to debate until it has been seconded, and stated from the Chair, and it shall be reduced to writing at the request of any member.
8. When a question is before the house no motion shall be in order, except to adjourn, to refer, for the previous question, to postpone indefinitely, to postpone for a certain time, to divide, or to amend, which motions shall severally have precedence in the order herein named.
9. A motion to lay on the table shall be put without debate.
10. A motion for a reconsideration shall not be received unless made by a delegate who

voted in the majority, and shall require a two-thirds vote.

11. Any delegate who may not be present to answer his name at roll call shall be marked absent by the Secretary. But in the event of being unavoidably absent, shall have the privilege of reporting to the Secretary.

12. The previous question shall only be put when called for by at least ten delegates.

13. All questions not herein provided for shall be decided according to Cushing's Manual.

ORDER OF BUSINESS.

1. Roll-call of officers and delegates.
2. Reading minutes of previous day's session.
3. Report of Committee on Credentials.
4. Reports of Officers.
5. Reports of Regular Committees.
6. Reports of Special Committees.
7. Unfinished business.
8. New business.
9. Election and installation of officers.
10. Good of the Federation.
11. Adjournment.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

H. LLOYD, Chairman;
D. HARRIS, Secretary;
R. BRAUNSCHWEIG,
GUS LANAGAN.

On motion that we adopt the report, amended by Delegate Blackmore, that the latter clause of Section 11, referring to absentees, be stricken out. Amendment lost.

Delegate Kidd amended to strike out words "two-thirds" in Section 10 and insert "majority." Amendment adopted.

On motion the report as amended was adopted.

Committee on Credentials resumed their report, and reported favorably to the seating of Delegate Anthony Toppin, alternate for Dallas Federation of Labor, and Henry Kretlow, proxy for J. O'Brien, of Federated Trades Assembly, Portland, Ore.

On motion the report was concurred in.

By common consent, Delegate O. A. Williams of International Typographical Union was allowed to state to the Convention the condition of the printers on strike at Pittsburg, Pa. At the close of his remarks Delegate O. A. Williams made a motion that the Convention donate \$3,000 to aid the printers to carry their case to the State Supreme Court of Pennsylvania.

By Delegate McNeill:

RESOLVED, That the whole matter be referred to the incoming Executive Board, with authority to spend \$3,000 in testing the constitutionality of the conspiracy laws in such case as they shall select.

By Delegate Foster:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor condemn in unmeasured terms the conspiracy laws of Pennsylvania and the recent decision of the Allegheny courts, which interfere with the rights of free speech and free men.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to heartily co-operate with the striking printers of Pittsburg in their effort to test the constitutionality of the recent enjoiner issued against the committee of the Typographical Union.

Delegate Lennon moved that the subject matter before the house be referred to the Committee on Resolutions when appointed. Adopted.

President Compers then appointed the following committee:

President's Report—Martin Fox, W. C. Boyer, J. H. Burt, H. J. Skeffington, J. Barans.

Secretary's and Treasurer's Report—John McBride, A. B. Loebenberg, Richard Robertson, Chas. Dold, Levi J. Reagan.

Resolutions—E. L. Daley, Frank Valesh, George E. McNeill, R. H. Metcalf, Jerre Dougherty.

Laws—W. H. Kliver, Samuel Goldwater, Frank A. Kidd, Reese W. Prosser, Edward Cogan.

Organization—W. J. Shields, August Delahar, Owen Miller, Wm. A. Carney, Henry Miller.

Labels and Boycotts—Frank Fildew, John E. Coughlan, Daniel Harris, C. F. Bechtold, Henry D. Beisenherz.

Grievances—G. Cavanagh, James McGill, Charles Currier, Geo. Speyer, John Strigal.
Local or Federated Bodies—Frank K. Foster, Gus. Ianagan, J. C. Myers, J. E. Faulkner, W. L. Devaux.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

Resolution No. 1 referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 2 referred to Committee on Boycotts. Moved that a special committee of five be appointed on convict labor. Agreed to.

No. 3, by Devaux, to Committee on Labor. No. 4, by Delegate White, referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

5 and 6, to Committees on Boycotts.

7, to Committee on President's Report.

8, 9, 10, 11, Committee on Resolutions.

12, Committee on President's Report.

13, 14, Committee on Convict Labor.

15, 16, 17, 18, Committee on Resolutions.

19, Committee on Constitution.

20, Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

21, Committee on Convict Labor.

22, Committee on Laws.

23, Committee on Resolutions.

24, Committee on Laws.

25, Committee on Organization.

26, Committee on Grievances.

Convention adjourned.

SECOND DAY—Afternoon Session.

December 15, 1891.

Convention called to order at 2 P. M., with President Compers in the chair.

Roll called and absentees noted as follows: Valentine and Byron.

Minutes of morning session read and approved.

Delegate Loebenberg moved that Mrs. Eva McDonald-Valesh be allowed a seat and voice in the Convention without vote. Motion agreed to.

Motion of Delegate McNeill to refer eight-hour question, unfair immigration and K. of L. proposition to special committees. Agreed to.

Moved that question of high dues in President's report be submitted to a special committee. Motion adopted.

Special Committee on Convict Labor—P. J. McGuire, John B. Rae, Jos. Valentine, W. H. Devore, J. C. Harding.

A telegram from the Commercial Club of Indianapolis, Ind., inviting the Convention to hold its next annual meeting at Indianapolis, Ind., was read and ordered filed.

Indianapolis, Ind., Dec. 15, 1891.

Samuel Compers, President:

The Commercial Club cordially invites the Federation to hold its next meeting in In-

dianapolis and will undertake to make necessary local arrangements.

WM. FORTUNE, Secretary.

A communication, with basket of flowers, received from Mr. Joe Franks, florist, of Birmingham, Ala., was read and accepted, with thanks.

Resolutions referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts:

30, on illegal use of labels.
35, on Union men to aid bakers.
39, on Harness-Makers' label.
41, on Shoemakers' yellow label.
43, on Lasters' Protective Union label.
44, on Douglass shoe.
48, to endorse special boycott against G. Ehret.

34, on Illinois *Staats Zeitung*.

42, on conspiracy laws.

9, on uniform system of advertising.

Report of Committee on Credentials of Chas. P. Fahey of Saddle and Harness Makers' National Union being favorable, the delegate was seated.

Resolution referred to Committee on Women's Work:

15, on lady lecturers.

Committee on President's Report and all other committees appointed at morning session reported progress.

Committee on case of San Francisco Union read a portion of their report for the information of the delegates, but no action was taken.

Communication extending invitations from Schilling and Birmingham Brewing Companies were read and order filed.

President Gompers suggested that as there were two ladies in the hall who had been invited to read papers and address the Convention in the interest of working-women, that they be heard at this time. The suggestion was approved, and Delegate McNeill appointed to escort the ladies to the platform.

Miss Ida M. Van Etten was first introduced, and the paper read by her was excellent, going largely into the evils of woman's work, and advocating organization as the only remedy. It was received with applause.

Mrs. Eva McDonald-Valesh then gave a very interesting and instructive lecture on the evils connected with the workingwomen of America and the necessity for organization among them, which was received with loud applause.

Delegate McNeill moved that Bro. Hoyt Freeman of the Building Trades Council of Chicago, be allowed a seat in the Convention without vote. Motion agreed to.

Resolutions referred to Committee on Resolutions:

- 27. On monopolistic combinations.
- 29. On citizenship and trades unions.
- 32. On national telegraphers.
- 37. On economic doctrine of Henry George.
- 46. On A. F. of L. members affiliated with National Guards, U. S.
- 47. On organizations affiliated with A. F. of L. joining a central body.
- 50. To request Glass Makers' Association to join National Union.

Resolutions referred to Committee on Eight Hours:

- 28. On public improvements and contracts.
- 31. On enforcing eight hour law.

Resolutions referred to Committee on Organization:

- 3. On paying railroad fare to small unions that they may have representation.
- 36. On Glass Employees' Association wanting State League organized.

38. On rapid growth of Clerks' National Union.

49. On National Electric Street Car Employees.

16. On formation of International Union of Longshorem.

Referred to Committee on Law:

40. To strike out Sec. 1 of Art. 8 of Constitution.

45. On State Federation.

Delegate Harding moved that a special committee be appointed to formulate some plan to organize the workingwomen, and report back to the Convention; the two ladies, Miss Ida M. Van Etten and Mrs. Eva McDonald-Valesh, to be added to the committee. Motion agreed to.

Moved to print the address delivered by Mrs. Eva McDonald-Valesh and Miss Ida M. Van Etten in proceedings.

Amended by Delegate Foster, that the Executive Council be given discretionary power to have them printed in pamphlet form.

Amendment agreed to, and motion as amended adopted.

Second Vice-President Wm. A. Carney called to the chair.

Delegate Harding moved to reconsider and strike out 5 o'clock in the report of Committee on Rules and insert 6. On a vote being taken, 25 voted in favor of the motion and 20 against.

After considerable discussion on the part of several delegates it was moved to reconsider the entire report.

Delegate Doherty raised a point of order, but no decision being rendered, the previous question was called, and carried by a vote of 31 for and 24 against.

The entire report was then adopted as amended.

Moved that smoking be prohibited in the hall during the remainder of the session.

Amended by Delegate Foster, that delegates be requested to refrain from smoking during the remainder of the session. Amendment agreed to, and the motion as amended adopted.

The time having arrived, Convention adjourned.

THIRD DAY—Morning Session.

December 16, 1891.

Convention called to order with President Gompers in the chair.

Roll call and absentees noted: Carney, Frank A. Kidd, Foster, Rae, McBride, Jones.

Minutes of afternoon session read and adopted as read.

The following committees were appointed:

On Unfair Emigration—Joseph F. Valentine, Samuel Goldwater, Adam Boner, H. H. Blackmore, Ernest Appellhagen.

On Women's Work—Mrs. Eva McDonald Valesh, Miss Ida M. Van Etten, A. B. Loeblenberg, Gus Lanagan, J. P. Jones.

On Eight Hours—F. K. Foster, August Delabar, Henry Kretlow, H. Lloyd, Edward Malone.

On High Dues—John McBride, George A. Speyer, J. H. Burt, Charles P. Fahey, W. J. Shields.

On K. of L. Proposition—Thomas A. Kidd, Martin A. Fox, Frank Valesh, John B. Lennon, George Cavanagh.

Communication No. 51, from Little Rock, Ark., on less hours, was referred to Committee on Eight Hours.

Communication No. 52, from Nashville, Tenn., referred to incoming officers.

Communication No. 53 from Terre Haute, Ind., on newspaper publication, was read, noted and filed.

No. 54, from Mr. F. P. Sargent, Grand Master Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen, of Terre Haute, Ind. Read and ordered filed.

No. 55, from National Brotherhood of Brass Workers, Detroit, Mich., on affiliating with A. F. of L. Read, noted and filed.

No. 56. Telegram from Sacramento, Cal., on harmonizing Pacific Coast matters. Read, noted and filed.

No. 57, from Rock Island, Ill., suggesting the advisability of attending convention of Tri-City Labor Congress at St. Louis, Mo., February 22, 1892. Read, noted and filed.

REPORT OF COMMITTEES.

On Secretary's Report—Reported progress.

On Resolutions—Resolution No. 9 transferred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 15, on lady lecturers, transferred to Committee on Women's Work.

No. 16, on formation of International Union of Longshoremen, transferred to Committee on Organization.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

MAJORITY REPORT.

WHEREAS, A judge in one of the Courts of Pennsylvania has, in the judgment of this

Convention, exceeded the authority of the Court and violated a principle of justice in enjoining union printers engaged in a contest to maintain and defend their interests as wage-workers, who have committed no act involving a breach of the peace or violation of law; and,

WHEREAS, In the judgment of this Convention, the Court in this case exceeded its power and jurisdiction, which if allowed to stand unchallenged, will be a constant menace to the advancement and progress of the wage-workers as a class, and the people as a whole; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled do hereby pronounce the edict of the said Court to be an unjustifiable and illegal interference with the liberties guaranteed in the bill of rights.

RESOLVED, That we hereby direct the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor to proceed to challenge the order of the Court by carrying the case to the highest tribunal in the land, and the Executive Council are hereby empowered and directed to expend a sum not exceeding three thousand dollars in the prosecution of the case referred to, in order that justice may be done to the wageworkers, and the rights of the people upheld.

RESOLVED, That in the event that the case is not carried up to the highest courts the Executive Council may use such part or the whole of the above named sum to test the constitutionality of the conspiracy law or of any proceedings in equity against affiliated unions or union men in any State of the Union.

RESOLVED, That we call upon affiliated unions to co-operate with the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor in this work.

EDW. L. DALEY,
JERRY DOHERTY,
R. H. METCALF,
GEO. E. MCNEILL.

MINORITY REPORT.

By Rep. Valesh.

WHEREAS, Conspiracy laws appear on the statutes of many States, and of late years it appears that the Courts persistently construe them in such a manner as to annul the most law-abiding efforts of labor organizations for a betterment of conditions; and,

WHEREAS, Enjoinment proceedings and similar tactics are now employed to oppose strikes rather than the former methods of physical force to suppress laborers; and,

WHEREAS, We see in this perversion of the Courts a most dangerous menace to the very existence of labor organizations, because it is evident that there is a concerted plan to make the enforcement of conspiracy laws an excuse for draining our treasuries and terrorizing our members so that the efficiency of the organization will be destroyed; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor hereby enters a solemn and emphatic protest against such unwarranted proceedings and the Executive Council are empowered to

take such steps for the repeal of such laws, and that it exercise its discretion in aiding unions in fighting enjoinder proceedings where the Courts have encroached upon the rights of labor organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Moved that the report be concurred in.

Moved to substitute minority report for the majority report.

After considerable discussion on both reports Rep. Lennon moved that the previous question be now put. Upon a vote being taken the most was lost.

Delegate Doherty asked the question, whether delegates who are in attendance can cast the full vote of their organization upon an aye and nay vote, though a colleague of theirs may be absent.

The President decided that where more than one delegate represented an organization the delegate present at the sessions could cast the full vote of their respective organizations though a colleague might be absent. That the organizations were entitled to the full vote as provided by the constitution.

Delegate Daley appealed from the decision of the chair.

Previous to the vote being taken Delegate Loebenberg was called to the chair, and on the vote being taken 29 voted for and 28 against, and the decision of the Chair was sustained.

Delegate Goldwater moved to reconsider the vote.

A motion was then made to table the motion to reconsider. The yeas and nays being called for a vote was taken on tabling the motion to reconsider, and resulted in a vote of 1,032 yeas and 940 nays, and the motion to reconsider was lost.

President Gompers again took the chair, and a vote was taken on the majority report in accordance with the rulings of the President, by a yeas and nays vote. The minority report was lost, yeas 570, nays 1316. The majority was then adopted.

Report of Committee on Resolutions continued.

Resolution No. 11, by Delegate C. M. Currier, on protest of United States Treasury Department as to landing of foreign musicians under contract, committee reported favorably and recommendation concurred in as follows:

WHEREAS, An act of Congress established a law for the protection of American wage-workers against the unfair and unjust importation of foreign labor, which law is known as the "Alien Labor Contract Law;" and,

WHEREAS, The fact that the Treasury Department has decided that musicians imported under contract are not amenable to this act,

as they came under the exception clause as "artists," which clause was only intended to cover the case of "celebrities," and not applicable to combinations of men to labor in the field of music; and,

WHEREAS, The McKinley bill exempts "artists' materials" from duty, but place a duty on the "musicians' instruments" as coming under the head of Implements of Tradesmen;" and,

WHEREAS, The Treasury Department has permitted the landing of bodies of foreign musicians under contract, who compete against and obstruct the efforts of our American musicians;

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Birmingham, Ala., hereby publicly protest against the arbitrary and inconsistent decision of the Treasury Department in construing the provisions of the Alien Labor contract hard as relates to musicians in bodies as being partial, unjust and detrimental to the interest of law-abiding American citizens; and be it further

RESOLVED, That this Convention recommend to the several affiliated bodies of the American Federation of Labor that they strongly urge Congressmen in their respective districts to bring their influence to bear upon the Treasury Department to the end that a proper construction be placed upon the Alien Labor Contract Law so far as musicians in bodies are concerned; and to also favor the passage of any resolution which may be presented in Congress excluding band or orchestra musicians from the exceptions to the said law under the term "artists."

By Delegate Lennon:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to use their utmost endeavors to secure the passage of a law by the Congress of United States, placing the trade union labels upon the same legal standing as now applies to trade marks.

Adopted.

Boston, Mass., Dec. 8, 1891.

To the Executive Council, American Federation of Labor:

This is to certify that the label printed hereon* is the one adopted by the Label Conference of the boot and shoe makers of America, represented by the Lasters' Protective Union, the Boot and Shoe makers' International Union and the New England Shoe Cutters' Union.

EDW. F. McSWEENEY,

President.

EDWARD L. DALEY,

General Secretary.

WM. H. MARDEN,

General Treasurer.

H. J. SKEFFINGTON,

General Secretary.

CHAS. E. BROCK,

General Secretary.

Reported favorably and concurred in.

Resolution No. 41.

RESOLVED, That the yellow label of the shoemakers adopted by the Baltimore Convention held in 1887 be indorsed by this Convention as the only genuine label of organized shoemakers.

Reported unfavorably by the Committee and report concurred in.

* A fac simile of the label was printed on the document.

WHEREAS, The wholesale clothing manufacturers, L. Lippman & Sons, of New York City, have victimized and discriminated against the cutter members of the United Garment Workers of America, American Federation of Labor, at the instigation of National Trade Assembly 231, Knights of Labor, and,

WHEREAS, All the efforts of the general officers of the American Federation of Labor and the United Garment Workers of America to obtain equal recognition with the other organization having failed; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we indorse the struggle of the United Garment Workers of America for trade unionism against the said firm, and the treacherous action of another labor organization, and recommend to the trade unions of the country and others that they are not obliged to buy the garments of L. Lippman & Sons, and to use every endeavor to induce retail dealers to discontinue selling their goods and to act immediately on all communications received giving such information from the United Garment Workers of America.

Adopted.

WHEREAS, The tenement house and sweating system under which a vast amount of wholesale clothing is manufactured has proved itself to be the greatest evil in our modern producing system; and,

WHEREAS, The United Garment Workers of America believing that the purchasing power of the people if properly directed can destroy this system, have determined to place a guarantee in the form of a label on garments made under fair and healthy conditions; therefore

RESOLVED, That we indorse said label, and call upon organized labor and a fair minded public to assist in overthrowing this

system by refusing to purchase clothing or patronize dealers not having this label on their garments.

Adopted.

Committee on Laws reported progress; also Committee on Organization.

Report of Committee on Labels and Boycotts continued.

On resolutions No. 5 and 6, on indorsing United Garment Workers label and on boycott of Lippman & Sons, New York city, Delegate Harding requested that his vote be recorded in the negative.

Resolutions introduced:

Resolutions Nos. 57, 58 and 59 referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 60 referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolutions Nos. 61, 63, 66 reintroduced and 69 referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolutions Nos. 62, 65, 70 referred to Committee on Law.

Resolution No. 64 to Committee on K. of L. Proposition.

Resolution 67 re-introduced and referred to Committee on Organization.

Resolution 68 re-introduced and referred to Committee on Grievance.

Resolution 71 referred to the Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Time having arrived a recess was taken until 2 o'clock P. M.

THIRD DAY—Afternoon Session.

December 16, 1891.

Convention called to order, President Gompers in the Chair, at 2 o'clock P. M.

Roll call and absentees noted as follows: Malone, Campbell, Foster.

Minutes of morning session read and approved as corrected.

The following telegram was received from Patrick McByrde, Secretary-Treasurer U. M. W. of A.:

Columbus, Ohio, Dec. 16, 1891.

President Gompers, American Federation of Labor, Birmingham, Ala.:

Can anything be done for striking miners of Indiana. Regards to delegates.

Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 73, communication from N. T. A. 231, K. of L., Garment Workers, referred to Committee on Grievances by a vote of 37 for to 24 against.

No. 72B, communication on emigration from Seattle, Wash., referred to Committee on Emigration.

REPORT OF SPECIAL COMMITTEE ON GRIEVANCE OF PACIFIC COAST UNION, NO. 74.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 16, 1891.

To the Delegates of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Gentlemen—We, the Committee appointed to settle the differences existing between the National Union of the United Brewery Workmen of the United States and the Council of the Federated Trades of the Pacific Coast, beg to submit the following report: That in view of the fact that mutual concessions on both sides have been made, and an agreement entered into by the parties interested, a copy of which is herewith submitted, we recommend that credentials of delegates, be received and delegates seated.

(Signed.)

HENRY BLACKMORE, Chairman.

J. J. BYRON,

FRANKLIN H. SMEAD,

W. E. SHIELDS,

J. E. FAULKNER.

Report concurred in.

AGREEMENT.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 14, 1891.

We, the delegates from the National Union of Brewery Workmen of the United States and from the Council of Federated Trades of the Pacific Coast, do agree as follows:

1. The Brewers' Union of the Pacific Coast will rejoin the National Union by paying the dues and assessments for the current month in which said rejoining shall take place, and also the \$40.00 assessment under dispute, said \$40.00 to be paid under protest to the President of the American Federation of Labor, the above mentioned rejoining, and payment to be made on January 1, 1892.

2. The National Union of United Brewery Workmen of the United States agrees to accept the Pacific Brewery Workmen on above-mentioned terms, and to call a Convention within six months from January 1, 1892. Popular vote to decide in which month within specified period said Convention shall take place.

Said Convention shall settle all difficulties definitely.

(Signed) A. FURESETH,
Delegate of Council F. T.
CHAS. F. BECHTOLD,
Delegate N. B. W. of U. S.
JOS. F. VALENTINE,
HENRY KRETLOW,
AUG. DELABAR.

TELEGRAMS.

New York, Dec. 15, 1891.

Chas. F. Bechtold, Delegate Convention American Federation of Labor, Erswells Hall:

Agreement satisfactory upon your recommendation. Convention has to be called subject to general vote.

ERNST KURZENKNABE.

San Francisco, Cal., Dec. 15, 1891.

Andrew Fureseth, Florence Hotel:

Executive Committee accept proposition, but wire full particulars; your telegram a little dubious.

ALFRED FUHRMAN.

Delegate Williams, Chairman of Committee on Credentials, moved to seat Mr. Pomeroy, the applicant for a seat to represent the Illinois State Branch, with voice without a vote in the Convention.

A protest from the International Union of Waiters and Bartenders was read against the seating of Mr. Pomeroy, after which President Gompers stated that the former decision rendered debarred him from taking a seat.

Delegate Harding appeal from the decision of the Chair. On a vote being taken the decision of the President was sustained.

Committee on Labels and Boycotts reported favorable on the following resolutions:

No. 35, by Delegate Meyers.

WHEREAS, The American Federation of Labor stands pledged to a reduction of the hours of labor, and,

WHEREAS, The barbers in many places are compelled by the conditions of society to work from 11 to 16 hours per day for six

days in the week, and from 6 to 11 hours on Sunday; and,

WHEREAS, The Journeymen Barbers' International Union are attempting to abolish Sunday work and establish the 8 o'clock closing system; therefore

RESOLVED, That the International Unions, the National Unions and Central Labor Unions, and all other bodies affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, be requested to secure the passage of such laws as will secure the abolition of Sunday work for barbers.

RESOLVED, That all union men are hereby called upon to aid the Barbers' International Union by withholding their patronage from such establishments as refuse to abolish Sunday work or adopt the 8 o'clock closing system.

Adopted.

WHEREAS, It has come to the knowledge of the L. P. U. of America that a body of organized labor so-called are trying to put the Wm. L. Douglass Shoe Company, of Brockton, in a light as being hostile to organized labor;

RESOLVED, That we, the representatives of the L. P. U. of America in Convention of the American Federation of Labor, protest against such action as not being warranted by the fact.

EDWARD COGAN,
E. L. DALEY,
H. J. SKEFFINGTON.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 39 to endorse the Harness Makers' Label.

By Delegate Fahey:

WHEREAS, Convict labor having entered into competition with harness makers in several of the States, including Missouri, Illinois and Tennessee, to such an extent as to seriously threaten the free labor engaged in that trade; and

WHEREAS, For self protection the Harness Makers' Union have adopted a label to be attached to all Union made goods; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in annual session at Birmingham, Ala., do hereby endorse the said label, and ask that it be favorably received.

Adopted.

No. 75B, on circular issued by the Central Labor Federation of New York City. Delegate McGuire moved to refer the circular to Committee on Grievance. Reference agreed to.

First Vice President P. J. McGuire was here called to the Chair.

Resolution No. 34 by Delegate Speyer:

WHEREAS, The German-American Typographia, a National Union, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, is now engaged in a struggle with the proprietors of the *Illinois Staats Zeitung* for the right of organization;

WHEREAS, Said proprietors have caused the arrest of some members of the Executive Committee of Typographia No. 9, and are trying to have them sent to prison for no other

reason than placing their just demands before the public;

WHEREAS, Said proprietors employ non-union compositors;

RESOLVED, By the eleventh annual convention of the American Federation of Labor to endorse the boycott placed upon the *Illinois Staats Zeitung*.

Adopted.

Resolution No. 30, on illegal use of labels.

By J. E. Faulkner:

WHEREAS, It has become a practice on the part of several labor organizations in their zeal to obtain funds for their local treasuries to indulge in questionable schemes for the same;

RESOLVED, That this Federation does not approve of affiliated bodies giving to any person or persons the right to use its name, seal, or mark to serve the purpose of a label for goods made by non-union labor, as it tends to destroy the effects of the labels that have been endorsed by the American Federation of Labor.

Adopted.

No. 48, by Brewers' National Union:

WHEREAS, It has been successfully demonstrated by the National Brewers' Union that by selecting single non-union breweries that they can successfully boycott such breweries, for instance Anheuser Busch, of St. Louis, and Lemps Breweries;

WHEREAS, G. Ehret, of New York, the largest brewer in that city, whose brewery is operated by non-union men to the detriment of the National Brewers' Union;

WHEREAS, Said G. Ehret holds the key of the situation in New York and vicinity, and if brought to terms would be the means of adding more than 5,000 members to the National Brewers' Union;

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. endorse a special boycott against G. Ehret, and that all organized labor be called upon to support the National Brewers' Union in their struggle for the alleviation of the miseries of brewers in the United States.

Adopted.

Committee report unfavorable on the following, and recommend reference to Bakers' National Union.

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the International Typographical Union be instructed to institute inquiries regarding the boycott on Fleischmann's yeast, and report the result of such inquiries to subordinate unions at their earliest convenience.

W. E. SHIELDS,
A. A. WILLIAMS,
WM. C. BAYER,
FRANK A. KIDD,
Delegates I. T. U.

Report concurred in. Moved to reconsider vote taken. Moved to lay on table motion to reconsider. Lost.

The vote was then reconsidered and the subject matter referred to the National Bakers' Union for information.

Communication on eight-hour "puzzle" was referred to Executive Council.

No. 26, on complaint of Chicago Musical Society. Committee recommended that the

resolution be referred to Committee on K. of L. Proposition. Reference agreed to.

Special Committees on Convict Labor, Women's Work, K. of L. Proposition, Emigration and High Dues reported progress.

The name of H. H. Blackmore was substituted for Shields on Committee on High Dues.

Eight Hour Committee reported progress.

The name of E. Malone was substituted for Geo. E. McNeill on Eight Hour Committee.

Committee on Secretary's Report, Chairman McBride reported as follows;

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

Your committee having had the reports of the Secretary and Treasurer under consideration desire to say that while the reports in themselves are creditable alike to the officials and to the organization, we find that neither report contains recommendations of that character which requires consideration or action on part of this Committee.

Signed,

JOHN McBRIDE,
A. B. LOEBENBERG,
RICHARD ROBERTSON,
LEVI J. REGAN,
CHAS. DOLD.

Moved that report be concurred in. Adopted.

The Chair requested the Committee to make some disposition of the \$2,000 loaned to the miners referred to in the Secretary's report.

Delegate Lennon moved that the \$2,000 loaned to miners be referred to Committee on Laws. Reference agreed to.

No. 76, communication from Photographer Horgan to photograph delegates of the Convention. Agreed to comply with his invitation and go to the court house in a body at 12 M. to-morrow.

No. 77, on National Bakers' Union asking for indorsement of their trade to be selected for a reduction of hours on May 1, 1892. Referred to Committee on Eight Hours.

INTRODUCTION OF RESOLUTIONS.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions:

No. 78, on employing union labor and citizens on public buildings.

No. 80, on directing Secretary to report matters in full in the proceedings of this Convention.

No. 81, on removal of tariff restrictions on works of art.

Referred to Committee on Organization:

No. 83, on employing permanent Secretaries in local unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

No. 79, on reference to organizing a national union of street railway employees.

Resolutions referred to Committee on Laws:

No. 82, on authorizing the publication of an official organ.

Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts:

No. 84, an indorsement of boycott on Mc-

Clenahan Bros., quarry operators, Port Deposit, Md.

In order to allow committees time to work, on motion the Convention adjourned at 4:30 P. M.

FOURTH DAY—Morning Session.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 17, 1891.

Convention called to order, with President Gompers in the chair.

Roll call and absentees noted:

Carney, Regan, Williams, Boyer, Metcalf, DeVore, Loebenberg.

Minutes of previous afternoon's session read and approved.

Communications:

No. 85, on Tin, Sheet Iron and Cornice Workers, expressing their regret at not being able to be represented at the Eleventh Annual Convention, was read, noted and ordered filed.

No. 86, of Des Moines, Iowa, from the American Sabbath School Union, asking the support of the A. F. of L. to close the World's Fair gates on Sunday. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 87, from Coopers' International Union, on cutting of wages by Armour Packing Co., Kansas City, Mo. Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 88, from Musical Union, Washington, D. C., on violation of alien contract labor law. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 89, from J. M. Witham, Youngstown, O., on communication on newspaper scheme. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Committee on Resolutions reported favorably on the following substitute for resolution No. 18:

WHEREAS, It has been and still is the custom for the Secretaries of War and Navy to detail soldiers and sailors in the service of the government as musicians to perform musical labor in competition with civilians; and

WHEREAS, The soldiers and sailors so detailed are fully equipped and provided at public expense, thus giving them an immense advantage in competition for business over civilians who must equip and provide for themselves from their earnings; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled most emphatically denounce this interference on the part of government officials in the affairs of citizens as un-American, unjust, and against the principles of liberty upon which this government was founded, and which is guaranteed to every citizen under the Constitution and laws, especially when such interference as-

sumes the shape of the government becoming a competitor with the citizen who pays the taxes to support the government from the wages he earns by his vocation; and be it further

RESOLVED, That we respectfully urge upon Congress legislation which will forever make it impossible for any government official to detail soldiers or sailors to perform labor of any kind in competition with civilians outside of the duties for which they are expressly enlisted; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the detailing of soldiers and sailors in competition with civilians is purely a voluntary act on the part of the Secretaries of the War and Navy Departments; and as these officials are the creatures of whatever party may be in power, we will hold such party responsible for a further continuation of this parody on government, which makes the government a competitor with the citizen whose struggle for an existence under present conditions is already hard enough without the additional incubus of the interference of the government as an oppressor instead of a protector.

Adopted.

On recommendation of the Committee the following by Delegate Dold was adopted:

RESOLVED, That we, the delegates of the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled, urge upon all parents the necessity of a thorough education of their children so that they may be able to judge in after years of their standing, rights and liberties that are guaranteed to a free people of which they are part and factors.

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor urge upon every affiliated body the absolute necessity of the enactment of a compulsory education law in every State and Territory of the United States, that will compel every child (sickness excepted) to attend school between the ages of six and fourteen years at least nine months in every year.

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council is hereby instructed to bring this matter to the attention of the affiliated organizations at their earliest possible opportunity.

On No. 8, demanding removal of New York State Factory Inspector Connolly for discharging from office Deputy Inspector Mrs. Alexander Bremer without any reasonable cause. Committee recommended that it be referred to New York State Federation with the indorsement of the Convention. Reference agreed to.

On No. 42, Committee reported matter contained in it already covered by former report.

Substituted by Committee for No. 47.

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that all organizations affiliated with the American Federation of Labor should be connected with the Central Labor Union in their vicinity, and that where more than one central body exists the unions shall, if they join any Central Union, join that body that has a certificate of affiliation with this body.

Substitute adopted.

Committee also reported the following substitute for Nos. 1, 23 and 13.

WHEREAS, The action of Chicago police in breaking into a lawful and peaceful meeting of labor people of that city on November 11 and 12, 1891, without warrant and in violation of every principle of right and justice, injuring and arresting a number of the members of said meetings, therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled denounce such action as being dangerous, not alone to the working people, but to all classes, as it tends to the usurpation of the people's authority and the substitution of an authority entirely foreign to the spirit of American institutions.

E. L. DALEY,
FRANK VALESH,
R. H. METCALF,
JERRY DOHERTY.

Adopted by a rising vote unanimously.

No. 50, by Delegate Levi Regan:

WHEREAS, A union known as the Glass Packers and Assorters, of Millvale, N. J., has failed as yet to connect itself with the National Association of their craft, and as the above is chartered as a local body of this American Federation of Labor; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Executive Board of this body is hereby instructed to use their good offices to induce the above local to connect itself with their National Association, and in event that the local refuse to be connected with their National Union that the Executive Council is hereby directed to revoke their charter.

Adopted.

No. 78. Be it resolved that inasmuch as the labor movement is largely extended by the benefits recurring to its affiliated membership, we of the B. of C. and J. of A. recommend on behalf of the building trades of this country, the following:

That the incoming Executive Council be requested to prepare recommendations on the subject of the employment of Citizen Labor, and as far as possible members of Trade Unions, on all public buildings, the same to be presented by the President of the A. F. of L. to Congress. Also a copy to be sent to the several State Branches of said organizations for the purpose of presentation to the several State Legislatures.

Signed,
W. J. SHIELDS,
W. BLACKMORE,
W. H. KLIVER,
F. FILDEN,
P. J. MCGUIRE.

Adopted.

WHEREAS, The prevailing method of manufacturing ready made clothing in our large cities, termed the tenement house and sweating system, has become a reproach to our civilization because of the degrading moral, intellectual and physical conditions under which this work, of the largest industry in the country is conducted, and a means through which the manufacturer shirks all responsibility by letting out his work to the irresponsible contractor, and who in turn sublets it to another, and so on; and

WHEREAS, The product of these factories, which are simply disease infested dens, have become a menace to the health of the consumer; therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in convention assembled call upon the American people to assist us with all their power both legislative, moral and otherwise to obliterate this curse of our century.

Adopted.

No. 69, by Delegate Shields, of Washington, D. C.

WHEREAS, The right of local self-government was unjustly taken from the citizens of the United States residing in the District of Columbia about eighteen years ago, and a government un-American and un-republican in form forced upon them without their consent, which is controlled by corporations, real estate rings and millionaire residents, and in which the masses of the people have neither voice nor influence; and,

WHEREAS, Organized labor in the District of Columbia has petitioned Congress for a redress of these grievances by the re-establishment of a republican form of government under the Australian system of voting; therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor earnestly indorses the action of organized labor in the District of Columbia, and joins in requesting the passage of a law re-establishing "a government of the people, for the people and by the people" in the capital of the nation.

RESOLVED, That a copy of the foregoing be forwarded under seal to the President of the United States Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Adopted.

No. 27, on monopolistic combinations. Committee reported adversely and report agreed to.

No. 29, on citizenship in trades unions. Committee reported adversely and report agreed to.

No. 37, on inquiring into the doctrines of Henry George. Reported adversely and report agreed to.

No. 46, on joining National Guard. Committee reported adversely and report concurred in.

No. 32, by I. T. U. delegation:

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the American Federation of Labor favor control by the government of the telegraph system of the United States.

Committee reported adversely.

Delegate Lennon moved to non-concur with the committee's report. Motion to non-concur agreed to and the resolution adopted.

By Delegate Myers:

RESOLVED, That all organized labor affiliated with the A. F. of L. be requested to use their utmost endeavors to organize the barbers in their vicinity under the International Barbers' Union of North America.

Adopted.

Report of Committee on Laws:

No. 72, on striking miners of Indiana, Referred to incoming officers without recommendation.

Report of Committee on Organization:

No. 60, on Union books and cards. Committee reported unfavorably, as the subject matter is already in vogue. Report concurred in.

No. 67, by Delegate Campbell:

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to take the necessary steps to form a National Union of the Hod Carriers of the United States.

Adopted.

No. 16, by Delegate Goldwater, C. M. I. U.:

WHEREAS, There is at present in existence in a number of cities along the chain of great lakes unions of men employed in the work of loading and unloading vessels, commonly known as 'longshoremen'; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the President of the American Federation of Labor, with a view to bringing the various Unions of the crafts into communion, be and he is hereby instructed to take such steps as may be deemed necessary for the formation of an International Union of 'Longshoremen.'

Adopted.

No. 49, on Surface and Street Car Men's National Union. Committee reported favorably as amended by them. Moved to strike out committee's recommendation and adopt resolution.

Delegate Delabar moved to refer back to Committee on Organization to make resolution more explicit. Motion to refer adopted.

No. 33, on railroad fare for delegates. Committee reported unfavorably. Report concurred in.

No. 38, by Delegate Loebenberg:

WHEREAS, The Retail Clerks' National Protective Association of America was organized Dec. 9, 1890, at the Detroit (Mich.) meeting of the A. F. of L.; and

WHEREAS, The National Clerks' Association, under the fostering care of the A. F. of L., has grown to a body composed of 46 local unions, representing 5,000 members; and

WHEREAS, The Association is fighting for better conditions under many difficulties and disadvantages; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. congratulate the R. C. N. P. A. on its rapid growth and the measure of success attending its recent efforts, and the A. F. of L. indorses the agitation of the clerks in their declaration of principles, namely, shorter hours, no desecration of the Sabbath, and the enter apprentice law, defined to early closing or daylight purchasing, and the Sabbath day given to them as it justly belongs, and equal work, equal pay, whether done by woman or man; and further recommend that all affiliated bodies under the A. F. of L. give their hearty support to the Retail Clerks' National Protective Association of America.

Adopted.

Introduction of Resolutions.

No. 91, on forwarding resolution to Congress. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 92, on Marine Subsidy bill. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 93, on cruelty to sailors. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 94, on complaints against central bodies. Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 95, on Butchers' National Union. Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 96, referred to Committee on Emigration.

No. 97, on political action. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 98, on brick or stone produced by convict labor. Referred to Committee on Convict Labor.

No. 99, on conspiracy laws. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 100, referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 101, on endorsing strike of hat finishers, at Schoble & Co.'s Factory, Philadelphia, Pa. Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 102, on withholding patronage from Bowie, Crawford & Co., Shoe Manufacturers, Boston, Mass. Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

No. 103, on Postal saving banks. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 104, on reaffirming boycott on Fleischmann & Co. Referred to Committee on Labels and Boycotts.

Hour of 12 having arrived the convention adjourned and marched in a body to the Court House to be photographed.

FOURTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 17, 1891.

Convention called to order, with President Compers in the chair.

Roll call and absentees noted:

Valesh, Malone, Coughlin, Applehagen.

Minutes of morning session read and approved.

Moved that after the reading of minutes to-morrow at afternoon session that we proceed to the election of officers.

Delegate Doherty moved to amend that it be made the special order at 5 o'clock.

Amendment agreed to.

Delegate Miller moved that the limit for introducing resolutions be made at 4 o'clock this afternoon.

Delegate Lennon moved to amend that the time be extended until the close of tomorrow morning session, and none be entertained except by unanimous consent of convention. Amendment lost, 19 for, 25 against.

On the President being asked if by adopting the amendment it would cut off the further introduction of resolutions, he decided affirmatively, but that the committees had a right to originate matter.

The original motion was then adopted.

Communications received and introduced.

No. 105, telegram from Wm. J. Dillon, Secretary American Flint Glass Workers Union, as follows:

Pittsburg, Pa., Dec. 17, 1891.

Chris. Evans, Sec., A. F. of L.:

Congratulations to the American Federation of Labor in Convention Assembled for the heroic action regarding the printers of Pittsburg.

Ordered noted and filed.

No. 106, on invitation by Birmingham Trades Council for the representatives to participate in an entertainment given by them in Erswells Hall, Thursday evening, Dec. 17, 1891.

Invitation accepted.

WHEREAS, The objects of the American Federation of Labor being the establishment of National and International Trades Unions and the Federation of such trade unions for the purpose of aiding and assisting each other; and

WHEREAS, The Glass Employees Association of America, an organization having for its main object "The organization of the various employees of the glass industries of the United States and Canada," and said order having appealed to us for assistance in organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, The degradation of any branch of a trade or industry is a standing menace

to unionism in general, and inasmuch as the American Flint Glass Workers Union being closely allied and a sister organization of the Glass Employees Association of America, which order has appealed to this Convention for aid in organizing; therefore be it

RESOLVED Further, That the eleventh annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor do hereby urgently request the American Flint Glass Workers Union to assist the Glass Employees Association of America in every way that is in their power in their efforts to organize local leagues; and be it

RESOLVED Further, That the President of the American Federation of Labor assist the Glass Employees of America in every possible way, and the Secretary be instructed to forward a copy of this resolution to the next annual Convention of the American Flint Glass Workers Union, and place the resolution on file, and also notify the Secretary of the Glass Employees Association what action is taken.

Signed,

LEVI J. REGAN,

President.

A. E. Chenoweth, Secretary, Fostoria, Ohio.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON ORGANIZATION.

Committee on Organization recommended the adoption of No. 36 by amending it as follows:

Recommend that the American Federation of Labor request the executive officers of the American Flint Glass Workers Association to co-operate with and assist the executive officers of the Glass Employees Association to build up their membership generally, and assist them in any other material way consistent with the principles of affiliated trades unions.

Recommendation agreed-to and resolution adopted as amended.

On No. 25, Committee recommend reference to Committee on Laws. Agreed to.

Moved that the Committee on Organization be directed to prepare a resolution and plan for the organization of federal labor unions. Agreed to.

Committee on Grievance made the following report, and Delegate Jones was called to the chair by unanimous consent, as the report to be made affected the President occupying the chair.

The Chairman of the Committee read the circular issued by the Central Labor Federation, New York city, and continued report as follows:

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 16, 1891.

American Federation of Labor, in Convention Assembled at Birmingham, Ala.:

We, your Committee on Grievances, after a careful investigation relative to the circular

spread broadcast by the General Labor Federation of New York, do hereby declare said circular a malicious, scandalous and vituperative document, and is also a criminal libel of the most flagrant character; and we find that the direct charges made against President Gompers were disproved by indisputable testimony. That on the imputations or indirect charges the committee finds that President Gompers consistently acted in the direct line of conservatism which he has so notably laid out and successfully followed in all matters pertaining to the welfare of the American Federation of Labor.

Therefore your committee recommend the adoption of the following resolution.

RESOLVED, That this Federation in Convention assembled does emphatically declare its faith in President Gompers as an honest, upright and earnest worker in the cause of labor, and that it absolutely believes him to be as far above bribery, political boodlesism or corruption as the stars are above mother earth. And your committee further recommend that the incoming President be requested to use his best efforts towards strengthening and perfecting the organization known as the New York Federation of Labor affiliated with the A. F. of L.

Very respectfully submitted,
 GEORGE CAVANAGH,
 Chairman,
 JAMES MCGILL,
 Secretary,
 C. M. CURRIER,
 GEORGE G. SPEYER,
 JOHN STRIGEL,
 Committee.

On motion the report was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

On Resolution No. 68 committee reported adversely.

On motion that the report be concurred in, the Chair suggested that action be deferred until after the report of the Committee on K. of L. Proposition had been made.

On motion the matter was deferred by a vote of 39 for and 11 against.

Report of Committee on Women's Work.

The Secretary reported as follows:

The Committee on Organization of Women met on Wednesday, Dec. 16, at Erswell's Hall, and organized, Mrs. Eva McDonald, Chairman; Miss Van Etten was elected secretary of the committee.

The following resolution from Mr. Goldwater, of C. M. I. U., was submitted:

WHEREAS, The condition of the working women of America, particularly in the crowded cities, is deplorable—toiling long hours for small wages in poorly-ventilated rooms; and

WHEREAS, This state of affairs is largely due to the fact that the girls and women who work in shops, factories and stores are ignorant of the objects of the labor movement and the benefits of organization; therefore

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that a lady lecturer be engaged to lecture to the working-women of our land, with a view to organization under the banner of the American Federation of Labor, and that her movements be directed by the Executive Council of this body.

After some discussion on this motion the committee adjourned until 8 o'clock P. M., at the Florence Hotel.

The committee met at the appointed time, all the members of the committee being present.

The resolution of Mr. Goldwater was first taken up and amended by substituting the word "organizer" for "lecturer," and in this form adopted.

After a lengthy and full discussion of the subject submitted, the committee recommends the following resolutions:

RESOLVED, That this Convention create the office of National Organizer of Women; the organizer to be a woman, and appointed by the Executive Council at its first meeting in January.

That the compensation be fixed at \$1,200 per annum, traveling expenses and incidentals to be paid in addition.

That the Constitution of the American Federation of Labor be so amended as to make the Organizer of Women a member of the Executive Council.

After some further discussion as to the details of work, the committee adjourned to report this morning.

IDA M. VAN ETEN,
 Secretary of Committee on Organization of Women. Dec. 16, 1891.

Delegate Dold moved that the consideration of the report be deferred until after the report of the Committee on Laws.

Delegate McNeill moved to refer to incoming Executive Council with power to act as the financial condition of the A. F. of L. would justify.

Motion to refer adopted.

Introduction of resolutions.

No. 107, on importation of diamonds. Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 108, on pardon of Oscar Neebe. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 109, on eight hours on public buildings. Referred to Committee on Eight Hours.

No. 110, on representation in General Labor Union. Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 111, referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 112, referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 113, referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 114, on granting of charters. Referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 115, on instituting permanent secretaries and state branches of the A. F. of L. Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 116, on president to keep copy of constitutions of national unions. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 117, referred to Committee on Laws.

No. 118, on national bakers and confectioners. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 119, on rendering assistance to clerks to organize. Referred to Committee on Organization.

No. 120, regarding World's Fair. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

No. 121, on shipping act. Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Resolution on Coast Seamen's Union referred to Committee on Organization.

Committee on Eight Hours reported as follows:

Reported favorable on No. 28.

By Delegate Faulkner:

WHEREAS, The laboring classes of this nation have been striving earnestly for a number of years to establish an eight hour work day, and up to the present time but a small portion of the highest skilled mechanics have been able to secure it;

RESOLVED, That it is the sense of this Convention that in all work of public improvement, contracted for by the United States Government, eight hours of labor shall constitute a day's work.

Adopted.

On Resolution No. 51, Committee recommend reference to Executive Council.

Reference agreed to.

On the following resolution, No. 31, by delegates of I. T. U., committee report favorable:

WHEREAS, In 1868, at the earnest solicitation of the organized workmen of the country, a law was enacted, the intent and purpose of which was to reduce and limit the hours of labor to eight per day, and which law would in the judgment of this body so limit and regulate the hours of the employees of the government, if fairly interpreted and honestly executed; and

WHEREAS, Said law has, from the day of its enactment, met with bitter hostility from government officials whose duty it has been to enforce it, and has operated spasmodically, briefly and within narrow limits, and that only when an impending election has afforded an opportunity for workmen to give weight to their demands; and

WHEREAS, It is evident that the executive branch of the government will not enforce the

eight hour law in accordance with its true spirit and intent unless compelled so to do by additional legislation; and

WHEREAS, During the last session of Congress a bill (H. R. 9,791) was pending in the Senate, the enactment of which into law, with the amendments recommended by the Federated Labor Unions of the District of Columbia and indorsed by the I. T. U., would compel the enforcement of the original eight hour law; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L., in eleventh annual session, indorses said bill, with the proposed amendments, and respectfully but very earnestly request the Fifty-second Congress to consider and pass the same at as early a day as possible during the coming session;

RESOLVED, That the Secretary A. F. of L. is hereby directed to forward, under seal, a copy of the foregoing to the President of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, at Washington, on or before January 1, 1892.

Adopted.

Committee on High Dues, Convict Labor and K. of L. Propositions reported progress.

Resolution No. 49 on motion was referred back to Committee on Organization.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 17, 1891.

To the Delegates of the A. F. of L.:

You are cordially invited to attend an entertainment to be given by the Birmingham Trades Council, at Erswell's Hall, Thursday evening, Dec. 17, at 8 P. M.

Respectfully yours,

EDW. SCHOOLEY,

Rec. and Cor. Secretary.

On motion the invitation was accepted.

Delegate Harding asked the consent of the Convention to introduce a substitute for the one from Sabbath School Union to close the World's Fair on Sunday, and request was granted.

Convention adjourned.

FIFTH DAY—Morning Session.

December 18, 1891.

Convention called to order with President Gompers in the chair.

Roll called and absentees noted as follows: Boner, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, W. E. Shields, Williams, Boyer, Owen Miller, Fahey.

Minutes of previous afternoon session read and approved.

COMMUNICATIONS.

No. 122, from Cigarmakers Union, No. 14, Chicago, Ill., giving account of trouble with one of their unfair employers accompanied by

circulars, was distributed. Read and ordered filed.

No. 123, asking assistance in changing Constitution of the United States on woman suffrage. Communication indorsed, and reads as follows:

To the House of Representatives and the Senate in Congress Assembled:

We, your petitioners, the American Federation of Labor, now in session in the city of Birmingham, State of Alabama, and representing thousands of workmen, who are voters under the laws of the United States,

respectfully request your honorable bodies to pass the resolutions favorably reported by your proper committees, proposing an amendment to the National Constitution securing to the women of the United States the exercise of the right of suffrage; that the question may go before the people of the United States to be rejected or ratified by them through the action of either their Legislatures or Conventions "as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by Congress."

In witness whereof, and under instruction of the American Federation of Labor, we, Samuel Gompers, President, and Chris. Evans, Secretary, of said Federation, do, this 18th day of December, in the year 1891, append our official signatures and the seal of said Federation. Very respectfully yours,

SAMUEL GOMPERS, President.

CHRIS. EVANS, Secretary.

Committee on President's Report asked for further time. Request granted.

Delegate Carney asked the privilege to present a poem from Carl Reuber, Pittsburg, Pa., and have it read by the Secretary. Request granted, and ordered printed in the proceedings.

SONG OF LABOR.

Respectfully addressed to the Convention of the

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

to be held in Birmingham, Ala., on

Dec. 14, 1891.

HEARTFELT GREETINGS, ALL YE SONS OF TOIL!

A pure and sweet note

From every throat

With a rousing cheer for true Freedom be;

Such a song is ringing,

When we are singing:

For Labor's Brotherhood and Fraternity!

Let us onward press

For union's success

That eight hours for work, for sleep and for

rest;

To sing Labor's Song

And banish greed, wrong—

Wherever be found is always the best.

Let's speed the good cause:

Better life, better laws!

Help spread Labor's Press and Union with

might;

Be marching along,

Come, sing Labor's Song;

Hurrah! with courage stand up for the right!

Committee reported favorably on Resolution No. 91, by Owen Miller.

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to send a copy of all resolutions passed by this Convention asking for national legislation to every member of the House of Representatives and United States Senate and the presiding officers of these bodies.

Adopted.

On Resolution No. 93, by Delegate Fureseth, the committee reported favorably.

WHEREAS, It is a notorious fact that extreme cruelty and inhuman brutality are by officers of our merchant marine continually perpetrated upon sailors and firemen under their command; and

WHEREAS, The law as it stands has proven insufficient to remedy this evil; be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled call upon Congress to amend the law so as to make the vessel liable in damages for any cruelty perpetrated by officers in command; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed to use its best endeavors for the enactment of such legislation as shall tend to improve the condition of the sailors and firemen in our merchant marine.

Adopted.

On Resolution No. 121, by Delegate Fureseth, the committee reported favorably.

WHEREAS, The Sailors' Union of the Pacific Coast have prepared a memorial to the Congress of the United States, setting forth the injury done to a very large number of seafaring men by the provisions of an act of Congress approved Oct. 19, 1890, and entitled "The Shipment of Crews in Coastwise and Other Trades;" and

WHEREAS, The reasons stated therein for asking that the said act be repealed, or, at least, that its provisions be not made mandatory, are so clearly and distinctly set forth that the merit of their request is made manifest; therefore be it

RESOLVED by the A. F. of L., That the said memorial and protest of the Sailors' Union of the Pacific Coast be referred to the incoming Executive Council with instructions to zealously watch national legislation on the points involved, and to use their utmost endeavors to bring about the legislation desired.

Adopted.

On Resolution No. 92, by Delegate Fureseth, the committee reported favorably:

WHEREAS, The provisions of the "Marine Subsidy Bill," enacted by the Fifty-first Congress, show that said Congress had two purposes in view, namely: First, to encourage shipbuilding within these United States; second, to foster the development of a body of native American seamen; and

WHEREAS, A subsidy has been granted to the Pacific Mail Steamship Company, who on all of their vessels engaged in the China and Japan trade employ Chinese and Japanese sailors and firemen exclusively; be it therefore

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled emphatically protest against the payment of any subsidy to said company until it shall comply with the spirit of the law by discharging from their vessels said aliens; and be it further

RESOLVED, That a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the proper department in Washington, D. C.

For the Council of Federated Trades of the P. C.

Adopted.

No. 88, in reference to importation of musicians. Committee reported that no legislation

was necessary, as the subject matter had been already covered.

Report concurred in.

No. 108. Committee reported favorable.

By Delegate Thos. I. Kidd:

WHEREAS, The union workingmen of this country are making strenuous efforts to secure the release of Oscar Neebe, who was so unjustly sentenced to fifteen (15) years imprisonment for an alleged participation in the so-called riot of 1886; and

WHEREAS, The great majority of the wage-workers of the United States recognize that the liberty of the said Oscar Neebe was sacrificed to intimidate the trade unionists, whose object was to secure the amelioration of the condition of the industrial classes; therefore,

RESOLVED, That the incoming Executive Council be instructed to petition Gov. Fifer, of the State of Illinois, in the name of the A. F. of L., asking for the pardon of the aforementioned Oscar Neebe.

Moved to amend that the names of Sam Fielding and Jacob Schwab be added to the report.

Delegates Harding and Kidd expressed themselves that they thought it would be best to leave said names out in the interest of Mr. Oscar Neebe, and asked that the resolution stand as it was reported.

On a vote being taken 22 voted for and 28 against, and report was adopted.

Delegates Goldwater and Dold expressed a desire to be recorded in favor of amendment.

No. 99. Committee reported that the subject had been already covered by previous legislation, and deemed it inexpedient to legislate.

Report of committee concurred in.

No. 97 and 103, being covered by the same subject, committee presented the following in place of both resolutions:

The committee has received a number of resolutions in the shape of documents bearing upon the organizing of political clubs, the land, single tax, government control of railroads and postal savings banks, and other questions, all of which your committee recognize as being of great importance to the people as a whole, as well as working people in particular, but in view of the great amount of legitimate trade union measures to be passed upon by this convention, the time of which is limited, we recommend that the convention deem it inexpedient to legislate upon them.

Unanimously adopted.

On resolution No. 118, by Delegate Delabar. Committee report favorable by adding Hamburg, Germany.

Report concurred in and adopted, as follows:

RESOLVED, That we the Delegates of the 11th Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. endorse the action of the journeymen bakers and confectioners of this country and Europe in calling an International Congress to be held about May, 1892, at Hamburg, Germany.

RESOLVED, That the officers of the A. F. of L. be requested to do all in their power to

make the above Congress a success and extend to the same the co-operation of the A. F. of L.

No. 89. Committee reported, on examining its contents, that it refused to consider it further, owing to reflections cast upon delegates of this Convention, and recommended that it be returned to the author. Report concurred in.

Introduced by committee:

RESOLVED, That in view of many accidents being caused each year by defective and improperly guarded machinery, the A. F. of L. favors the strict enforcement of factory laws, and recommends to the affiliated organizations the importance of insisting upon the enactment and proper enforcement of factory inspection laws.

Adopted.

No. 99B. By committee:

RESOLVED, That we call upon all affiliated unions to use every exertion in their power to secure in every State the repeal of such conspiracy laws as are designed, or may be taken advantage of by employers, to oppress labor organizations.

Adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON PRESIDENT'S REPORT.

Delegate Todtenhausen called to the chair.

To the President, Officers and Members of American Federation of Labor:

Delegates—Your Committee on President's Report organized by the choice of Martin Fox as Chairman, and H. J. Skeffington as Secretary. Much of the subject matter of the President's report has been referred by us to the regular and special committees which have been appointed.

Your committee, while rejoicing at the phenomenal growth in membership and the greatly extended power and influence for good, feel that they but voice the sentiment of the members of this Federation when they say that the magnificent results attained have been largely due to the ability, devotion and unswerving fidelity of your President and Executive Council to the principles and objects of the American Federation of Labor.

We have every reason to believe that the future progress of the trade union movement in America will continue, but your committee fully realize that the work of inducing other national and international trades unions to become affiliated with this Federation will require tact and experience, especially with the organizations of railroad employees and the Bricklayers' and Masons' International Union, while the efforts already made in that direction meet with our heartiest approval.

Your committee regret that the several unions neglect to make the statistical reports on the blanks issued by the Executive Council, and sincerely hope that more attention will be paid to this feature in future.

MACHINISTS UNION.

Your President reports the organization of the International Machinists Union of America as he says, pursuant to the instructions of the last Convention. We find that a National

Union of Machinists was and had been in existence for a number of years, but had refused membership to all but those of the Caucasian race. Upon their failure at their Pittsburg Convention to eliminate the color line, the Executive Council called a conference of unions of that trade to which the old organization sent no delegates, the result being the formation of a new National Union, which your Committee deplore, believing it to have been premature.

We are assured that the best of feeling exists between the two unions, and that an amalgamation of both will be accomplished in the near future, and your Committee earnestly recommend that the incoming Executive Council give special and particular attention to a summation of this end.

INTERNATIONAL LABOR CONGRESS.

A former Convention of this Federation decided to hold an International Labor Congress at Chicago in 1893. At our last Convention the President, in his report, called attention to the absolute necessity of having a representative at the Brussels Congress of Labor to extend the invitation. The failure to act upon recommendation has resulted disastrously, for, owing to the malicious misrepresentations of a person antagonistic to our Federation, the Brussels Congress failed to accept the invitation. Again your attention is called to this matter, and your committee, especially in view of the fact that the organized labor of the whole world is moving on the line of a reduction of the hours of labor, most earnestly desire to impress upon you the importance of making the International Labor Congress of 1893 the grandest success yet undertaken by organized labor on this Continent.

In order to insure its complete success your Committee recommend that the incoming Executive Council be empowered to select some person to make all the necessary arrangements and to conduct the correspondence subject to the direction of the Council. We further recommend that the Executive Council select a suitable representative or representatives to visit the Labor Congresses of Great Britain, France, Germany and other countries of Europe and extend to them an invitation to send representatives to our Congress of 1893.

Your committee deem it advisable to have the International Labor Congress of 1893 begin its session on Labor Day.

POLITICAL CONFERENCES.

Your committee commend the action of the Executive Council in their refusal to accept invitations to attend the political conferences at Washington, D. C., and Cincinnati, and we recommend that the Federation remain steadfast to its avowed principle that this Federation represents the Trade Union movement in the economic field of reform.

CHILD LABOR.

Your committee recommend that the incoming Executive Council take such measures as will most effectually press upon the attention of the United States Congress the importance of the passage of legislation that will tend to prohibit the employment of children of tender age in any occupation.

PERMANENT CENSUS.

Your committee have examined the correspondence between the Superintendent of the

United States Census Bureau and your President, and we heartily approve of the position taken. We recommend that no modification be made, and that the incoming Executive Council use their efforts to a successful conclusion.

BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS.

LABOR DAY.

Your committee approve the subject matter under both the above headings, and recommend that the Committee on Resolutions draft resolutions expressive of the sentiment of the American Federation of Labor, and that measures be taken by the incoming Executive Council to press them on the attention of Congress.

JEFFERSON BORDEN.

Your committee approve the work done on behalf of Geo. Miller and E. W. Clark, known as Jefferson Borden mutineers, on whose behalf the President of the United States has been asked to exercise executive clemency. Your committee recommend that the incoming Executive Council go again to the President of the United States if necessary.

Respectfully submitted,

MARTIN FOX, Chairman,
H. J. SKEFFINGTON, Secretary,
W. C. BOYER,
J. H. BURTT,
JACOB BEHRENS.

Delegate Harding moved to adopt the report as read.

Delegate Jones moved to amend by giving the present Convention power to select representatives to the Labor Congress of foreign countries, instead of placing it in the hands of the Executive Council.

The previous question being called a vote was taken on it, and the report was adopted unanimously.

A TELEGRAM FROM IOWA.

Des Moines, Ia., Dec. 17, 1891.

Samuel Gompers, President:

The American Sabbath Union in Convention assembled in this capital city of Iowa send most cordial greetings to the American Federation of Labor in Convention assembled at Birmingham, Ala. We earnestly ask for your co-operation in securing the gates of the Columbia Exhibition in 1893 to be kept closed on Sundays, so that God may be honored and the workmen employed on the fair grounds and by the railroads running thereto may have their rest day, and thus also help to give success to the efforts of laboring men for securing themselves the blessings of rest one day in seven throughout the whole country. We also earnestly ask for your co-operation in securing the appropriation by the fair authorities of each Wednesday during the continuance of the fair as workmen's day, when the whole exhibition, including the operation of the machinery, the picture galleries and every part and parcel of the fair may be visited by workmen and their families at reduced rates, and that all employers shall arrange with the various railroads for transportation of workmen at wholesale commutation rates to and from Chicago, so as to give them that Wed-

nesday at the fair. If the American Federation of Labor shall pass resolutions favoring these two proposition we will be glad to be informed thereof here to-morrow.

ELLIOTT F. SHEPARD,

President,

J. H. KNOWLEYS,

Secretary,

L. S. COFFIN,

Chairman Committee A. S. U.

Referred to Committee on Resolutions.

Delegate Owen Miller asked, did the A. F. of L. dictate to affiliated organizations as to qualification for membership.

Chair decided in the negative, and to the question whether the machinists would become affiliated with the A. F. of L. if the color line was withdrawn, said they could.

Report of Committee on Resolutions continued:

RESOLVED, That we return the kindly greeting and good offices of the Sabbath Union in Convention at Des Moines, Iowa, and respectfully represent that we will heartily co-operate in all efforts to secure a larger share of rest and leisure to the working classes.

That one day of rest in seven is a moral, physical and economic necessity.

That wages are lower in those vocations and in those countries where the seven days' labor system prevails.

That one day of rest in seven is an increase of wages.

That the causes that operate to make one day of rest in seven an increase of wages will and do operate to make eight hour work day wages higher than ten hour work day wages.

RESOLVED, That while we agree that the opening of the Columbia Exhibition on Sunday is contrary to the spirit of the short hour movement, we are forced to protest that the existing environment of the wage class

compels us to use the Rest day for the purposes of entertainment and enlightenment along the lines open to the possessors of wealth on all days of the year.

That in the opinion of the delegates of labor unions here assembled the Rest day should be zealously guarded against the encroachment of those who live upon the labor of others.

That as the masses of mankind are dispossessed of wealth and opportunity, it is the duty of all who seek the best interest of humanity to unite upon those measures that will secure an equitable distribution of wealth in the processes of its production, so that the treasures of art, music, science and mechanics, and the opportunities of travel shall be the inheritance of all, and the Rest day of humanity be devoted to its highest possible use.

RESOLVED, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to the Sabbath Union.

Adopted.

Report of Committee on Law. On resolution No. 1, committee report favorable to strike out Sec. 1 of Art. 8 in constitution: as follows—

Section 1. The Executive Council shall have the power and are directed to levy a strike assessment of two cents per member on the 1st of January, 1891, on all National and International bodies under the jurisdiction of the Federation.

Adopted.

Resolution by Delegate De Veaux, on National Guard Militia, Committee report unfavorable.

Moved to non-concur with the report. Motion lost and report of committee adopted.

An amendment to add a new section to Art. 10 of the constitution was under consideration when the hour of 12 arrived, and a recess was taken until 2 o'clock P. M.

FIFTH DAY—Afternoon Session.

Friday, Dec. 18, 1891.

Convention called to order, with President Compers in the chair.

On roll call all members were present.

Delegate Dold asked unanimous consent to make a motion. Request granted.

Moved that an evening session be held in order that delegates may visit the mines.

Delegate Owen Miller raised the point of order that it was necessary to suspend the rules.

Chair decided the point of order not well taken.

Delegate Lennon raised a point of order that Dold's motion was not sufficiently definite to act upon.

Chair decided he could not rule a motion out on that ground.

Delegate Williams moved that when we adjourn we do so to meet at 8 P. M.

Delegate Goldwater moved to lay the entire matter on the table. On a division vote the matter was tabled.

Minutes of morning session read and approved as corrected.

Delegate Cavanagh moved that Miss I. M. Van Etten be given the privilege of the floor for ten minutes. Agreed to.

In her remarks she made a stirring appeal in behalf of the organization of working women.

The report of Committee on Laws was then

taken up and the discussion continued on Section 6, Article X., of the Constitution.

Delegate Harding moved the previous question, and on a vote being taken the amendment was lost.

To amend Article V., Section 2, to make it read as follows:

Section 2. Should a vacancy in the office of President occur between the annual meetings of the Federation, such vacancy shall be filled by election by the Executive Council, such person so elected to be a member of said Executive Council.

Adopted.

To amend by striking out Section 2, Article VI., and insert the following:

Section 2. In case of a vacancy in the office of President by death, resignation or other cause, the Secretary shall perform the duties of the President until his successor is elected. In the event of such a vacancy in said office, it shall be the duty of the Secretary to issue within six days from the date of such vacancy a call for a meeting of the Executive Council at the Headquarters of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of electing a President to fill said vacancy.

Adopted.

To amend Sec. 5, Article IV., by adding the following:

It is the duty of Local Unions of the American Federation of Labor to organize Central Labor Organizations in the localities where none exist, or to join those already existing; to secure the affiliation of the same with the American Federation of Labor, that there may be unity of action for the purpose of advancing the interests of each other, and establishing the principles of this Federation.

Adopted.

To amend by striking out Sec. 4, Article III, and insert the following:

Sec. 4, Art. III.—The Executive Council shall direct the Presidents or Chief Executive Officer of three National or International Unions, at least ten days previous to the holding of the Annual Convention, to appoint one delegate each from their respective delegations, who shall compose an Auditing Committee, and this committee shall meet at the place for holding the Convention three days prior to the Convention, and they shall audit the accounts of the Federation for the preceding twelve months. The expenses of said committee shall be paid out of the funds of the Federation.

Adopted.

No. 8, in regard to publishing an official Journal. Committee reported unfavorable.

Moved to non-concur in committee's report.

Delegate Skeffington moved that the matter be referred back to committee. Motion lost. A motion was then made to concur in committee's report, and Delegate McBride asked for a call of the roll.

On a vote being taken there was 1,417 for and 615 against.

Report of committee concurred in.

On resolution No. 9, on A. F. of L. publishing lithograph of labels from the general office, committee recommend reference to Executive Council.

Report concurred in.

No. 10, matter already covered by previous legislation, and committee report unfavorable.

Report concurred in.

No. 11, committee reported unfavorable, as it was beyond their power to act upon it.

Report of committee concurred in.

By Delegate Smead:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor entertain no proposition from the Knights of Labor that is accompanied by a threat.

Committee report unfavorable.

Delegate Delabar moved that report of committee be non-concurred in.

Motion lost and the report of committee concurred in.

Delegates Dold, Thos. I. Kidd, Faulkner and Harding requested that they be recorded as voting in the negative.

No. 13. Committee reported unfavorable and report concurred in.

No. 14, on protest of Detroit Trades' Council against Convict Labor on Detroit Federal Building. Committee recommend that it be referred to the Executive Council.

Report concurred in.

Resolution 94, to amend constitution, Committee reported unfavorable. Delegate Fureseth moved to refer to Committee on Affiliated Bodies.

Reference agreed to.

No. 16. By F. A. Kidd:

RESOLVED, That all resolutions adopted by the Convention be printed in full in the official proceedings of the annual session of this Federation.

Adopted.

Communication from Eugene V. Debs:

You are now in convention and the world of labor is watching your proceedings with profound interest, fervently wishing that results may be equal to your expectations, and that you may triumphantly overcome all opposition.

Noted and filed.

Resolution 112. Recommend reference to Executive Council. Reference agreed to.

Resolution 114, on granting charters. Committee report adversely.

Delegate W. E. Shields moved to non-concur in committee's report.

The Chair requested that the matter be temporarily deferred, and on motion it was deferred.

No. 117. Committee reported unfavorably. Report concurred in.

No. 19. Committee reported it without rec-

ommendation, as it was already the law. Agreed to.

No. 25. Committee reported no recommendation necessary. Report concurred in.

In the matter of the loan of \$2,000 to the U. M. of A., the committee report that it is without our jurisdiction.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

W. H. KLIVER,
SAMUEL GOLDWATER,
EDWARD COGAN,
F. A. KIDD, Secretary.
REES W. PROSSER.

Report of committee adopted as a whole.

Delegate McNeill moved that the \$2,000 loan be donated to the miners. Motion adopted.

The hour for special order of business to elect officers having arrived, Delegate Fureseth was called to the chair, and nominations for President declared in order.

Delegate Owen Miller presented the name of Delegate Delabar; Delegate Doherty nominated Delegate J. H. Burt, and Delegate Daley presented the name of Samuel Gompers.

Delegate Delabar declined, and nominations for President closed.

By request, the roll was called and resulted as follows:

For Gompers—Cavanagh, Skeffington, Delabar, Bechtold, Lanagan, Kliver, Fildew, Blackmore, W. J. Shields, McGuire, Meyers, Valesh, Dold, Goldwater, Loebenberg, Lloyd, McNeill, Kretlow, Johnson, Malone, A. Harris, Behrens, Daniel Harris, Campbell, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Lennon, Todtenhausen, Cogan, Daley, Norton, Foster, Thomas I. Kidd, Owen Miller, Biessenherz, Currier, Byron, Coughlin, Faulkner, Applehagen, De Vore, Speyer, White, Rae, McBride, Jones, Fureseth (representing 1,378 votes).

For Burt—Carney, Doherty, Prosser, Smead, Robertson, Boner, Toppin, Regan, McGill, W. E. Shields, Williams, Boyer, Frank A. Kidd, Stillman, Harding, Strigel, Fahey (representing 535 votes).

For Delabar—Henry Miller, Burt, Braunschweig, De Vaux (representing 120 votes).

Mr. Gompers, of the C. M. I. U., having received a majority of all votes cast, Chairman Fureseth declared him elected as President for the ensuing term.

Delegate Burt moved to make the election of President Gompers unanimous.

Delegate Harding having raised objection to the motion, no further action was taken.

President Gompers resumed the chair, and in a speech very appropriate for the occasion thanked the Convention for the confidence reposed in him by a re-election.

Nominations were then declared open for First Vice-President.

Delegate White placed in nomination Delegate P. J. McGuire.

There being no other candidate, Secretary Evans was instructed to cast the vote for First Vice-President, and Delegate McGuire was unanimously elected, and thanked the Convention for the honor conferred.

For Second Vice-President, Delegate Williams nominated Delegate W. A. Carney; Delegate Sprigel placed in nomination Delegate Cogan; Delegate Fahey nominated Delegate McGill; Delegate McNeill nominated Delegate Fox; Delegate D. Harris presented the name of Delegate John McBride; Thos. I. Kidd nominated Delegate F. A. Kidd. Delegates Skeffington, Owen Miller and Valentine were also nominated, all of whom declined except Carney, Cogan and Miller.

Nominations were then closed and a vote taken with the following result:

For Carney—Doherty, Prosser, Delabar, Bechtold, Lanagan, Loebenberg, Smead, Robertson, Burt, Malone, Braunschweig, Regan, Campbell, McGill, Valentine, W. E. Shields, Williams, Boyer, Frank A. Kidd, Owen Miller, Coughlin, Harding, De Vore, A. Speyer, Rae, McBride, Jones, Fahey (representing 1,100 votes).

For Cogan—Cavanagh, Skeffington, Kliver, Fildew, Blackmore, W. J. Shields, McGuire, Meyers, Valesh, Dold, Goldwater, Lloyd, Kretlow, Johnson, A. Harris, Daniel Harris, Toppin, Fox, Lennon, Todtenhausen, Daley, Foster, Thomas I. Kidd, Byron, Stillman, Faulkner, Strigel, Applehagen, White (representing 905 votes).

For Miller—Carney, Henry Miller, McNeill, Behrens, Metcalf, Cogan, Norton, Biessenherz, Currier, De Vaux, Fureseth and Boner (representing 188 votes).

In accordance with the vote given Delegate Carney was declared elected.

On motion the election of Delegate Carney was made unanimous.

NOMINATIONS FOR SECRETARY.

Delegate McBride placed in nomination the name of Chris. Evans.

Delegate Smead put in nomination the name of W. J. Cannon.

Delegate Valesh was called to act as Secretary *pro tem*.

With the consent of the Convention Delegate Smead withdrew the name W. J. Cannon, and on motion President Gompers cast the vote of the Convention for Chris. Evans, and he was unanimously elected Secretary for the ensuing term.

Delegate Foster moved to extend the time of the afternoon session until 7 P. M. Motion adopted.

*Through a blur on the "poll list" an error occurred in the tabulation which gave Mr. Carney a majority of the votes cast.

Secretary Evans was notified of his election, and on his return to the hall made a few well chosen remarks thanking the delegates of the convention for the honor conferred.

Nominations for Treasurer:

The names of Delegates Lennon, Delabar, Owen Miller, Rae, Harris, Fildew, Lanagan and Cogan were placed in nomination, but all declined except August Delabar.

On motion nominations were reopened, and Delegate Lennon was again nominated.

Delegates Lennon and Delabar being the only candidates, the roll was called with the following result:

For Lennon—Prosser, Cavanagh, Skeffington, Delabar, Lanagan, Kliver, Fildew, Blackmore, W. J. Shields, McGuire, Meyers, Valesh, Lloyd, Smead, Robertson, McNeill, Kretlow, Johnson, Boner, Malone, A. Harris, Toppin, Campbell, Valentine, Metcalf, Fox, Todtenshausen, Cogan, Daley, Foster, Bissenherz, Byron, Coughlin, Harding, Strigel, De Vore, P. Fahey, (D. Harris, Faulkner, Goldwater and White divided votes) (representing 1,063 votes).

For Delabar—Carney, Doherty, F. Bechtold, Dold, Henry Miller, Burt, Behrens, Braunschweig, Regan, Shields, Williams, Boyer, Frank A. Kidd, Lennon, Norton, Thomas I. Kidd, Owen Miller, Currier, Stillman, De Veaux, Applehagen, Speyer, Rae, McBride, Jones, Fureseth (D. Harris, Faulkner, Goldwater, and White divided votes) (representing 970 votes.)

Mr. John B. Lennon, of the Journeymen Tailors' Union of America, having received a majority of all votes cast, was declared elected, and thanked the Convention for the confidence reposed in him by re-election.

Report of Committee on Organization continued.

By Delegate Loebenberg, No. 119, committee reported favorable.

WHEREAS, It needs the combined efforts of all labor organizations in the different parts of this country to maintain and uphold the principles of the Retail Clerks' National Protective Association; and

WHEREAS, There is a number of clerks' unions only organized for their mutual benefit, and not attached to Retail Clerks' National Protective Association; be it

RESOLVED, That the trade unions in the different localities of this country be requested to help and assist in getting said unions to attach themselves to the Retail Clerk's National Protective Association; and he it further

RESOLVED, That in localities where no Retail Clerks' Unions exist that the trade unions use their best efforts in seeing them organized under the National Association of the same.

Adopted.

Committee report favorable on No. 115, by Delegate Valentine:

WHEREAS, The trade unions of Seattle, Washington, have established a headquarters

with a permanent secretary, and have secured a library of labor literature; and

WHEREAS, The results have proved productive of much good to the members of the unions; therefore

RESOLVED, That we recommend to State Federations and all central bodies the establishment of like headquarters in their States and cities to the end that an exchange of labor papers, tracts, books and pamphlets may be effected, and that the members of unions may have the opportunity of keeping informed upon the general labor movement and become educated in trade union principles.

Report concurred in.

By Delegate Applehagen, No. 95, committee report favorable:

WHEREAS, A number of butchers' unions are now connected with the American Federation of Labor as Federal Labor Unions; and

WHEREAS, It is the desire of the Butchers' Union of Duluth to form a National Union, and wish to know the location of all unions connected with the American Federation of Labor, in order to make a call for a Convention of Butchers; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That all delegates do all in their power to organize the butchers in their respective localities and notify the butchers of Duluth, and the President of the American Federation of Labor assist all in his power.

Adopted.

Substitute for No. 49. Moved to strike out the word *surface* and insert *street*. Substitute adopted as follows:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to issue a call for a conference of the organized street railway employees of the United States for the purpose of forming the whole into one organization; and be it further

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be and is hereby instructed to provide a place for such conference, and delegate a duly authorized representative to open such conference in the name and by the authority of the American Federation of Labor.

No. 121, on organization of sailors. Referred to Executive Council. Reference agreed to.

On No. 107, committee report deemed it inexpedient to legislate upon.

Delegate Foster offered the following substitute for committee's report:

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor be and are hereby instructed to aid the Diamond Workers' Union in the endeavor to prevent a violation of the laws which may operate to the injury of their members.

Adopted.

No. 113:

WHEREAS, That as all branches of labor are inter-dependent and co-operative; and

WHEREAS, In many industrial centers there are no organizations of the boiler makers; and

WHEREAS, The International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Shipbuilders, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, are zealously seeking to organize their craftsmen; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the delegates here present are hereby requested to assist the Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Amalgamated Iron and Steel Workers in organizing the workmen in that craft.

Committee report favorable. Report concurred in.

On No. 110, committee reported favorable.

The question was raised that it was already covered by previous legislation, and on motion the matter was tabled.

A communication (without signature) read by committee on defining plan of organization. Committee reported deemed it inexpedient to act upon. As it contained some valuable ideas it was on motion referred to the Executive Council.

No. 88, committee recommended reference to Committee on Labels and Boycotts. Reference agreed to.

On motion the report of committee was adopted as a whole.

A telegram from the New Jersey Federation of Trade Unions extending fraternal greetings to Convention was read, noted and filed.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON HIGH DUES.

Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Convention:

Your committee, to whom was referred that part of the President's address relating to "higher dues," desire to say that we are restrained from going further than making a recommendation upon this subject, as it is not within the province of this federal body to determine the tax to be paid by the members

of affiliated unions in the form of membership fees and dues; that while this is true, we cannot but condemn the parsimonious policy that has so forcibly presented itself in a financial way during trade contests, where owing to their lack of making proper provisions financially, much of the good work accomplished has been neutralized, and in all cases made impossible that degree of progress which should result from the united efforts of organized craftsmen.

The strongest argument that can be made, in our judgment, on this important point, and one which should most strongly appeal to the judgment of workmen, is the universal experience that the trades and crafts whose organizations exert the greatest influence are those that have departed from the practice of which we complain, and who have made such intelligent provision as to place them above the necessity of soliciting charitable contributions from their fellow-toilers to aid them in their difficulties.

Your committee, in view of the necessity for wise and speedy action upon this matter, would urge upon the members of affiliated unions to raise this question in their locals, and most earnestly recommend a substantial increase in membership fees and per capita tax.

We further recommend that the incoming Executive Council prepare, or cause to be prepared, and issue, a circular upon the necessity for and the benefits to be derived from larger membership fees and dues.

Signed,

JOHN McBRIDE,
H. BLACKMORE,
C. P. FAHEY,
GEO. J. SPEYER,
J. H. BURTT,

Committee.

Adopted as read.

The hour of 7 having arrived, Convention adjourned.

SIXTH DAY—Morning Session.

December 19, 1891.

Convention called to order at 9 A. M., with President Gompers in the chair.

Roll called and absentees noted: Skeffington, Kliver, McGuire, Dold, Robertson, McNeill, Toppin, Regan, McGill, O. A. Williams, Boyer, Frank A. Kidd, Lennon, Norton, Foster, Owen Miller, Strigel, Applehagen, Speyer, Fahey.

Minutes of previous afternoon session read and approved as corrected.

Secretary Evans made a statement in reference to vote cast for Second Vice-President the previous evening. On looking over the vote cast he discovered that an error had been made in counting up the vote, owing to a blur on the poll list, and for the purpose of correcting the same suggested that a committee rep-

resenting the respective candidates should be appointed to recount the votes and report accordingly.

Delegate McNeill wished the minutes to show that he nominated Owen Miller for Second Vice-President, and it was also asked that the minutes show that Delegate Lennon declined the nomination, after which the nominations were reopened, when Delegate Lennon became a candidate. The correct vote was then called for and was announced as follows.

Carney, 940; Cogan, 905; Miller, 188.

Delegate Cogan desired not to question the vote for Vice-President and acquiesced in the same.

Delegate Valentine raised the point of order that he thought the election was not fair.

The Chair decided that the question of Delegate Carney's election could not be re-opened as his election had been made unanimous.

Delegate Carney then tendered his resignation, and on motion the same was accepted.

Nomination for Second Vice-President was then declared in order.

Delegate Burr nominated Delegate Carney and Delegate Lanagan nominated Delegate Cogan.

Cogan declined, and on motion of McNeill the Secretary cast the vote for Delegate Carney for Second Vice-President, and he was unanimously elected.

COMMUNICATIONS.

No. 125, asking the consent of the Convention to lift the boycott off Milwaukee beer.

Delegate Bechtold moved that the boycott be declared off. Adopted.

Delegate Campbell, called to the chair.

No. 126, Telegram from Troy, N. Y., as follows:

Miller, Hall & Hartwell have rejected citizens' proposition.

DORA SULLIVAN.

Delegate D. Harris rose to explain, and moved that the action of the cuff and collar girls be endorsed.

Delegate Kretlow moved that the Convention indorse the action of the Executive Council in declaring a boycott on the above firm. Adopted.

Delegate D. Harris moved that the Secretary send a communication to the New York State ranch of this action. Adopted.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

No. 127, on Retail Clerks' National Union. Noted and filed.

Delegate Coughlin asked unanimous consent to introduce a resolution to refer the question of boycott on the Fuller-Warren Stove Co., of Milwaukee, Wis., to officers of Iron Moulders' Union, said officers to notify the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labor whether it should continue or not. Resolution adopted and reference agreed to.

The boycott on Todd, Sullivan & Baldwin was reported as having been successful and declared off.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON EIGHT HOURS.

MAJORITY REPORT.

Mr. President and Delegates:

Your committee to whom was referred that part of the President's report referring to the eight hour movement and the action of the United Mine Workers, together with the resolutions from the International Typographical Union and the Bakers' and Confectioners' In-

ternational Union, each asking that that particular trade be selected to receive the moral and financial support of the Federation upon eight hour lines, report as follows:

We are fully agreed as to the validity of the general short hour policy of the Federation and the recommendations of the President pertaining thereto.

Principles are eternal and in nowise depend for their merit upon the degree of successful adoption they may obtain.

The fact that the demand for shorter hours is economically just and morally defensible is a more powerful argument in its behalf than even the assurance of its present expediency and ultimate triumph.

That in seeking to achieve for the wage-earning class a larger share of that liberty of action which only is possible to those who have leisure at their control, we are advancing upon scientific lines of progress, is strikingly shown by the strenuous opposition to the movement by those buyers of labor who seek to make the wage-earner but a mobile instrument in their schemes for the exploitations of industry.

The taste for freedom grows from that upon which it feeds, and would-be oppressors of labor well know that if the wage-earner is once given the time and opportunity to learn his own strength, to husband his own resources, to organize his own faculties, and to widen his own horizons, he is thereby furnished with the weapons which shall secure for him industrial emancipation.

We thus see in the short hour movement the germ of a higher civilization, when the world's workers shall be more than beasts of burden, when men, women and little children shall not be bent and broken under the loads imposed by task-masters more merciless than those of Pharaoh of old; when the tragedy of toil now daily enacted in factory, mine and workshop shall be but a tradition the past—a civilization when equality of opportunity shall be the natural and inalienable heritage of all the sons of men.

But between this promised land and the industrial system of to-day, with its long hours of labor, lies the deep sea of bitterness and the wilderness of doubt.

Upon our great organization devolves the mighty work of perfecting the practical details by which the hosts of labor shall free themselves from bondage.

Drawing inspiration from the successes of the past and profiting from its defeats, we should so mass our forces for the next onward movement that all the power of capitalism shall be futile to arrest the triumphant progress of the craft selected to lead the trade unions of America towards the eight hour goal.

From the unfortunate experience of the Miners' Organization the past year we draw several important lessons.

We have listened carefully to statements made before the committee by representatives of the Executive Council and of the United Mine Workers.

From this evidence we draw the conclusion that it is most unwise to forewarn and consequently forearm those against whom the movement is directed.

No competent strategist in military science would so prejudice any plan of operations.

We are also of opinion that in all future movements we should rely for counsel, sympathy and support only upon those who are

identified with the trade union cause, and to whom the success of the trade union and short hour movement is a matter of honest and vital concern.

For the reasons above stated we report favorably upon neither of the resolutions presented by the International Typographical Union or the Bakers' and Confectioners' National Union, but we submit the following recommendation for your approval:

1. That, as according to a request made before our committee, the delegates of the United Mine Workers be given an opportunity by the Convention to explain the position of their organization as to the eight-hour movement of 1891.

2. That the action of President Gompers and the Executive Council in relation to the United Mine Workers be indorsed.

3. That the American Federation of Labor renew its pledges of fealty to the short hour movement, and that some affiliated body be chosen to make the advance in 1892.

4. That the selection of this craft and the time at which the demand shall be made be left to the discretion of the incoming Executive Council, to be determined by it upon those considerations which shall most make toward the success of this particular effort and the welfare of the general trade union movement.

FRANK K. FOSTER,

Chairman,

HENRY KRETLOW,

Secretary.

HENRY LLOYD,

EDWARD MALONE.

MINORITY REPORT.

To the Officers and Delegates of the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Birmingham, Ala.:

Gentlemen—On the question of the application of the Journeymen Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union of America, I beg to submit the following minority report:

BE IT RESOLVED, That the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor names the Journeymen Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union of America as the trade to be selected to inaugurate the ten-hour work day on May, 1, 1892, and that we pledge them our moral and financial aid to the full extent of the ability of the American Federation of Labor.

I fully agree with the balance of your committee's report on the shorter hour question. Respectfully submitted,

AUGUST DELABAR,

Committee.

Moved that the minority report be adopted. On a vote being taken 19 voted for 26 against, and the minority report was lost. Another vote was taken on the majority report and it was adopted.

Delegate Foster was called to the chair, and a little pleasantry that amused the delegates very much was indulged in. The delegates having learned that it was the birthday of Delegate Foster, President Gompers presented him with a beautiful pipe in an alligator case as a token of the esteem in which he was held by

the delegates for valuable services rendered in the work of the Convention.

Mr. Foster very gracefully acknowledged the testimonial given and accepted it with thanks, and left his position as chairman amid great applause.

President Gompers resumed the chair.

Delegate McGuire moved the Executive Council be authorized to prepare suitable resolutions attesting the services of Delegate McNeill in the labor movement.

Agreed to.

By M. H. De Vore:

WHEREAS, It is well known that there exists on the statute books of the United States a law prescribing that eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work for government employees; and

WHEREAS, Under cover and claim that they are under sub-contractors for the government, many trades unionists and other laborers are required to work more than eight hours per day, contrary to the laws of the Federal Government; and especially is this the case with the erection of government buildings and river and harbor improvements of the South; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor take such steps as are necessary to learn to what extent this iniquity is carried on, how far the eight hour law is being abused, and take such steps as may seem best to correct such abuses.

Adopted.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LABELS AND BOYCOTTS.

Committee report favorably on Exhibit 101, in relation to the boycott on F. Schoble, hatters, in Philadelphia, for employing non-union labor.

Also 102, boycotting the firm of Crawford, shoe firm in Brockton. Favorably.

Exhibit 9, publishing the labels of organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. Referred to Executive Board.

Resolution of Brewers' No. 12, we report favorably that the use of the seal of the A. F. of L. be permitted, at the request of the Executive Board of the National Brewers' Union.

On the resolution originated by the committee, relating to the boycott on George Ludlow, of Elgin, Ill., at the request of the Secretary of the International Boot and Shoe Workers, mann's yeast, we report favorably.

Exhibit 104, relating to boycott on Fleischmann's yeast, we report favorably.

On the question of boycotts, your committee condemn the levying of boycotts indiscriminately by organizations without all efforts being made to effect an honorable settlement between employer and employee.

We therefore recommend that no boycott shall be recognized by the A. F. of L. or its affiliated bodies unless the Executive Council shall have investigated said boycott and have determined upon the justice of said boycott in conjunction with the heads of the national and international unions interested; and local unions having no national union must refer boycotts to the Executive Council of the A.

F. of L. for investigation and abide by its decision. And we submit this to the Convention for their endorsement.

Your Committee on Labels and Boycotts, to whom was referred that portion of the President's report referring to the label of the A. F. of L., recommend that this Convention do most emphatically indorse the sentiment expressed on the unexampled travesty of justice perpetrated by Judge Williams of Pennsylvania in his decision on trade labels; and further recommend the publishing by the Executive Council of a lithograph of the labels of the A. F. of L. and affiliated unions having labels, the cost of publishing and distributing the same throughout the country to be paid by the organizations in their proportion. And we further recommend that organizations not having a label of their own, and whose products require a label, shall adopt the label of the A. F. of L.

F. FILDREW, Chairman,
D. HARRIS, Secretary,
H. D. BIESSENHERZ.

Report concurred in and a resolution adopted as follows:

By Delegate McGuire:

WHEREAS, The firm of F. Schobel & Co., hatters, Philadelphia, have discharged their union employees and will not accede to union rules, and has declined all offers of arbitration; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Convention of the A. F. of L. recommend all its affiliated organizations and members of trade and labor societies to not purchase any hats made by the said firm of F. Schoble & Co.

Adopted.

RESOLVED, That the boots and shoes manufactured by the firm of Geo. D. Ludlow & Co., formerly of Chicago, and now of Elgin, Ill., are unfair, scab goods, and should be boycotted by the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated bodies.

Adopted.

No. 102.

WHEREAS, The firm of Bouve, Crawford & Co., Shoe Manufacturers, of the City of Brockton, Mass., has recently locked out all of the lasters (union men) in their employ, because these lasters refuse prices and terms of agreement which said firm has attempted to force upon them; and

WHEREAS, Said firm has not only refused all offers of a peaceful settlement of the lock-out by the Lasters' Protective Union in which the locked out men are members; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the A. F. of L. recommend to all its affiliated bodies, and all friends of organized labor, to withhold their patronage from the goods made by this firm until such time as they settle the existing lock-out on terms satisfactory to the trade union involved.

Lasters' Protective Union of America.

Signed,

E. L. DALY,
EDWARD COGAN.

Adopted.

No. 71. By Delegate Cogan:

RESOLVED, That the American Federation of Labor endorse the efforts of the Elastic Web Weavers' Amalgamated Association to

secure the adoption of its union label in all factories, and the purchase by all consumers of union label goods;

RESOLVED, That the delegates be instructed to bring the list of fair and unfair manufacturers before their respective organizations, and to use all honorable efforts to assist the Web Weavers' Amalgamated Association.

Adopted.

No. 104. By Delegate Delabar:

WHEREAS, Fleischmann & Co. has been doing all in its power to destroy the Bakers' and Confectioners' International Union, at the same time prosecuting a number of members of the above organization; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That the Eleventh Annual Convention of the A. F. of L. at Birmingham, Ala., herewith reaffirms the boycott against Fleischmann & Co.'s Compressed Yeast and Bakery; be it further

RESOLVED, To demand of all affiliated unions to vigorously enforce the same.

Adopted.

On resolution No. 9 on labels. Committee recommends reference to Executive Committee.

Reference agreed to.

Committee report favorable on recommendations of President Gompers on Labels and Boycotts, and that the same be indorsed.

Agreed to.

NATIONAL BREWERS' UNION, A. F. OF L. OF THE U. S.

To Affiliated Unions of the A. F. of L.:

For the following reasons we feel justified in sending your organization with same mail some circulars for distribution amongst your members.

Five weeks of untiring effort to unionize the breweries of Cincinnati and vicinity, aided by the Wire Drawers' and Die Makers' Union of Cleveland, Ohio—that union sending a delegate to Cincinnati for that purpose, and all the larger brewers being conferred with, especially the Windisch-Muhlhauser Brewing Co., were in vain.

As a last resort a meeting of the Brewers' Association was called to which the demands of the Brewers' Union were presented for action. At a subsequent meeting of the Association, the demands of the Brewers' Union were rejected and resolved to leave things as they are, as everything is working satisfactory to them, and they see no cause why they should enter into any agreement with the Brewers' Union, as they think they have buried Unionism at the lockout in April, 1888.

These are the particulars.

Now, Brothers, in the name of the A. F. of L. we ask your moral support by indorsing our circular and act in accordance with such indorsement.

Circular indorsed.

The following are the

K. OF L. PROPOSITIONS.

For the purpose of terminating the unfortunate and regrettable difference and disagreements which have at times arisen in various localities, between Assemblies of the Knights of

Labor and Unions of various trades, and between members of such Assemblies and Unions, and with a view to avoiding such differences and securing harmonious action in future, the General Assembly submits to the American Federation of Labor and all other bodies who may become parties to the agreement, and declares the following propositions:

1st.—In future, all Knights of Labor working at a trade or calling shall recognize and respect the working cards of all Unions of the same trade or calling attached to or affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, or connected with any labor organization who are parties to the agreement, when such Unions and their members shall in like manner recognize and respect the working cards of such Knights of Labor.

2d.—All labels the property of the Federation or of any body attached to it, or of any of the labor organizations who are parties to the agreement, shall be recognized and officially endorsed by the Knights of Labor; and all Knights of Labor labels shall be recognized and officially endorsed by the Federation and the other parties to this agreement.

3d.—No person who is a suspended or expelled member of any Union in affiliation with the Federation, or any other body a party to this agreement, or who is in arrears for dues or assessments or in any other way indebted to such Union or organization, shall be admitted to membership in any Assembly of the Knights of Labor without the consent of such Union or organization in writing; and in like manner, no person who has been expelled or suspended by an Assembly of the Knights of Labor, or who is indebted or in arrears for dues and assessments to such Assembly, shall be admitted to membership in any Union affiliated with the Federation, or in any of the organizations who are parties to this agreement.

4th.—The provisions herein made shall be promulgated as soon as practicable, and go into effect on and after January 1, 1892, and be it RESOLVED (1st), That no Local or other Assembly of Knights of Labor shall form an alliance or affiliation with any body or organization that shall refuse to enter into an agreement as above with this order; and be it further

RESOLVED, (2d.) That should the American Federation of Labor at its coming annual session refuse to enter into the agreement as outlined above, it shall be the duty of the general officers of the Knights of Labor to issue an address to the workmen of America, setting forth all the facts.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON K. OF L. PROPOSITION.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 19, 1891.

To the Eleventh Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor:

Fellow Delegates—The special committee appointed to consider the communication submitted by the K. of L., report having carefully examined the propositions therein contained, and beg leave to report the following:

The records show that much time and energy have been spent in efforts to secure a peaceful settlement of difficulties between the American Federation of Labor and the K. of L. Since 1886 conferences have been held at intervals, and the American Federation of Labor

has used every effort to end a useless and wasteful struggle. It has submitted propositions for settling all real or alleged differences; but these were at all times rejected by the K. of L. The trade union movement of America has neither time nor inclination to deviate from its mission by seeking quarrels with other organizations.

Experience proves that the wage-earner is the natural and proper guardian of his inherent rights; hence the trade union becomes a necessary outgrowth of existing conditions in the industrial world. History justifies the trade union movement in its present form, and teaches that permanent industrial progress can only be achieved by organization on craft lines. It thus becomes imperative that the autonomy of the trade union be carefully guarded and defended.

The American Federation of Labor is organized to maintain and strengthen the prestige, authority and autonomy of its affiliated bodies. Any proposition from an organization conducted upon an entirely different plan must be carefully considered as to its bearings upon the component part of the American Federation of Labor. Each organization attached to the American Federation of Labor is guaranteed freedom from dictation or interference in managing its own affairs. Hence any agreement with another organization, even if satisfactory to the American Federation of Labor, can only come as a recommendation to its affiliated bodies. They are entirely free to adopt or reject it. As a proof of the independence and freedom of action obtaining among its affiliated bodies, the American Federation of Labor has never denied their right to recognize such cards and labels as they may deem proper. Nor can it under any circumstances deviate from this policy of allowing self-government to its federated bodies.

The platform of the K. of L. shows clearly that it was never intended to be other than an educational organization. Thus it can have no legitimate place in the field occupied by trade unions. Wishing, however, to bring to an end any cause for division or discord in the ranks of organized labor, we submit the following basis for an amicable adjustment of differences between the American Federation of Labor and the K. of L.

1. That the K. of L. shall revoke and issue no more charters to local trade assemblies or national trade assemblies.

2. In return the A. F. of L. shall revoke and issue no more charters to mixed Federal Unions.

3. The A. F. of L. will recommend to affiliated unions that they urge their members to become members of mixed assemblies of K. of L.

The acceptance of these conditions will necessarily obviate any future conflict regarding the recognition of labels or the relations of expelled or suspended members.

THOS. I. KIDD, Chairman,
FRANK VALESH, Secretary,
GEO. CAVANAGH,
JOHN B. LENNON,
MARTIN FOX.

After considerable discussion a motion to strike out "future" was agreed to, and the report was adopted unanimously.

Moved that the officers be authorized to forward copy of report to K. of L. officials and

make such arrangements as are necessary. Adopted.

Regarding the grievance of Musicians' Union No. 5454, your committee have investigated and verified the statements made in the communication, and recommend that the A. F. of L. extend its sympathies to Union No. 5454, and that the Chicago unions be asked to aid to wipe out the unfair union.

Recommendation adopted.

Delegate Daley moved to suspend the rules and continue in session until 1 P. M. Agreed to.

On resolution by Delegate Shields, of Washington, on international unions granting local charters, the Committee on Law reported unfavorably, and the report was concurred in.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLVED, That before charters are granted by international unions to local unions they shall first consult the trade organizations affiliated with the A. F. of L. in the cities where such locals are to be organized and find out if it is in the interest of organized labor to charter such unions. Also, that the President of the A. F. of L. shall correspond with all the trade organizations affiliating with the A. F. of L. in a city in which he contemplates issuing a charter for a central body before granting same, and shall instruct organizers to place themselves in communication with and under the supervision of central or local federations affiliating with the A. F. of L.

Delegate Shields, of Washington, asked to be recorded as voting in the negative. Agreed to.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON GRIEVANCES.

Birmingham, Ala., Dec. 16, 1891.

Committee met at Room 21, Opera House Hotel. They unanimously report adversely on the resolutions referred to them from the Garment Cutters of America. And in the matter of the case of Hughes vs. White, which was referred to this committee in connection with the above named resolutions, the committee, after careful consideration, recommend a strict non-interference by the affiliated associations of the American Federation of Labor in the matter of the lockout instituted by the combined Rochester tailoring manufacturers against the K. of L., for the following reasons: First, this committee believes it to be a combination of organized capital against one wing of organized labor, which, if unsuccessful, will but strengthen the hands of organized labor against the encroachments of organized capital. Second, this committee further believes that this procedure will be a step in the direction of reciprocity and a final unification of labor interests.

Very respectfully submitted,

GEORGE CAVANAGH,
J. MCGILL,
C. M. CURRIER,
GEORGE G. SPEYER,
JNO. STRIGEL,

Committee.

Moved to adopt report.

The hour of adjournment having arrived by common consent the session was continued until all business was transacted.

Moved to substitute for committee's report as follows:

RESOLVED, That in the matter of trade disputes we recognize the absolute, jurisdiction of the National Union of that trade, and hence dismiss this subject from the further consideration of the committee and this Convention.

Adopted unanimously.

To the Delegates of the Convention:

Mr. President and Gentlemen: Your committee on unfair immigration beg leave to make the following report:

We know this question requires considerable thought and study, as it is of great importance to the working people of this country; we heartily indorse the recommendation of President Gompers in the matter of having one officer of the General Government whose duty it will be to control all immigration, and see that the laws are more earnestly carried out; we also refer the following preamble and resolutions with other documents to the incoming Executive Council, all of which is respectfully submitted.

JOS. F. VALENTINE, Chairman,
EMIL APPLHAGEN, Secretary,
S. GOLDWATER,
ADAM BOKER,
W. E. SHIELDS,

Report of committee concurred in and adopted as a whole.

WHEREAS, More than a million men are vainly seeking employment at the hands of those who control the industries and enterprises in these United States, while thousands and thousands of others can find but partial employment; and

WHEREAS, Through the low wages of the whole body of laborers, women are forced from their homes, and children from the school house and playgrounds, to compete in the surfeited markets of laborers with vigorous youth and stalwart manhood, thus destroying home influences, womanly virtue and childhood's innocence; and

WHEREAS, The demand for cheap manhood, servile womanhood and degraded childhood has been increased and intensified by the greed of our capitalistic masters, and has led to the importation under contract and by the system of assisted immigration of hundreds of thousands of cheaper men and women, thus continually holding down the upward and onward progress of civilization, aggregating wealth and power in the hands of the few and congregating poverty into the narrowest space of unhealthy and immoral environment; and

WHEREAS, The A. F. of L., the Congress of the economic Government of the poor, is pledged to protect and increase the wages of its citizen members from the combined forces of capitalistic competitive control whether from the heartless inroads into the homes or by a forced immigration to our shores of those our brothers and sisters, who by their necessities are made to bear upon us; and

WHEREAS, The Political Government has by its legislation placed a tariff upon things that are the product of cheap laborers, and

has permitted and encouraged the importation of the cheap laborers of other countries; therefore

RESOLVED, That the Executive Council be instructed and directed to use every effort in their power to secure such legislation as will restrain and restrict all artificially stimulated immigration, and that absolute prohibition of the landing of all contract and assisted emigrants, whether from Europe, Asia or the Canadian Provinces, to the end that the level of our civilization shall not be lowered;

RESOLVED, That we protest that this attempt to shut out from our shores the poor of other races and nationalities is caused by the laws of necessity and self protection consequent upon our existing industrial system, and we pledge ourselves and the A. F. of L. to renewed efforts toward the abolition of the wage competitive system through the historical and scientific methods of the trades unions, and to so spread the redeeming gospel of short hours and higher wages that all lands shall bloom in beauty and plenty, and all humanity be equal partakers of the commonwealth.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON CONVICT LABOR.

To the Officers and Members of the A. F. of L.

Gentlemen—Your special committee on convict labor submit the following as their report:

The committee, acting on the suggestion in the President's report, and in accordance with Document No. 3, had Messrs. Peter Findlay and W. E. Russell appear before the committee and received from these gentlemen valuable information and suggestions.

Document No. 13, referred to incoming Executive Council.

Documents Nos. 14 and 21, approved and referred to Executive Council.

Document No. 98, by Delegate A. Harris, committee reports favorably.

RESOLVED, That all members of the A. F. of L. do, wherever possible, refrain from the use of any brick, stone or other material produced by convict labor.

We have availed ourselves of all information obtainable from persons who have given the convict labor question careful study. The more closely the question is studied, the more apparent become the difficulties connected therewith. We are unable, as all students of this complicated question have been, to suggest a solution that would not be liable to serious objection, and feel that the American Federation of Labor cannot commit itself to any method that has been suggested, only in so far as said method may tend to lessen the evils now existing. As a result of our investigation we submit the following suggestions:

First. That the number of our criminals is very largely increased as a result of present social and industrial conditions. Overwork on the one hand, with inadequate recompense to meet human needs, and enforced idleness, on the other, and the fact that in many instances trickery and corruption are applauded because successful, have a baneful impression on the minds of the young of the great army of the disinherited. No one can doubt that

the better solution is to prevent crime, rather than to dispose of or reform criminals, and we recommend that this phase of the question be specially considered.

Second. We condemn in unmeasured terms any system of leasing convicts as a means of profit to either private individuals, companies or corporations, that tends to crowd large numbers into a single trade, as is now the case in the mines of Alabama and Tennessee, and that results in forcing large numbers of the criminal and immoral classes on single communities and single trades. As these evils are inseparable parts of any lease system, we demand that it be abolished.

Third. We believe that the real ends that should be aimed at in all penal institutions—namely, chastisement and reformation—are entirely lost sight of in the effort to make money out of the labor of the convict in all the States. By reason of this, convicts are brutalized and penal institutions vitiated. We therefore demand immediate reform.

Fourth. We suggest as methods that would tend to lessen present evils—

The employment of convicts on such public works as the Nicaragua Canal, the improvement of our water ways, the reclaiming of waste lands, or any other public improvements—county, State or National; work that would not be done by free labor—and especially recommend that our State and National Legislatures be required to devise such reform as will place convict labor in such relation to free labor as will release it from the competition and degradation that now prevail.

Respectfully submitted,

P. J. MCGUIRE,
JOHN C. HARDING,
J. B. RAE,
MORRIS H. DEVORE,
JOS. F. VALENTINE.

Report of committee concurred in and adopted as a whole.

REPORT OF COMMITTEE ON LOCAL AND FEDERATED BODIES.

Fellow Delegates: Your committee to whom was referred Document No. 94, by Delegate Fureseth, advocating an amendment to the constitution, giving Local Federation the right of representation in this body, pending an investigation by it, report unfavorably upon the subject-matter contained therein.

Realizing that the very central structural principle of the A. F. of L. is the government of craftsmen by organization of their own trade, we find ourselves unable to recommend interference with the discipline which any national or international union may impose.

We do recommend, however, that whenever a Local Federation and National or International Union are in conflict as to the right of a Local Union to be represented in Local Federations, that both parties to the issue submit the case to the arbitration of the Executive Council. This recommendation not to be mandatory.

We also recommend that Local Federations use all possible means to secure the affiliation of all Local Unions to the National or International Union of their trade, and that when new unions are formed with the aid of Local

Federation they should be immediately attached to national union, if one exists.

FRANK K. FOSTER, Chairman.

W. S. DEVEAUX,

J. C. MEYERS,

J. E. FAULKNER.

Report concurred in.

Committee on Resolutions recommended that the following poem by Delegate McNeill be read and placed on the records of the proceedings:

From the Eastland, where Atlantic
Hurls her water 'gainst the granite
Of her stubborn-guarded shore;
To the westland, where the sun sets
On an empire proud in beauty;
To the southland, where the Gulf stream
Laves the sea shore and the lowlands,
Labor's forces, grand and mighty,
Marching forward, armed in Justice,
Sound the war cry, "higher wages,"
"Greater comforts, shorter hours!"
This the cry of labor forces
In the union of their powers,
From the ship-yard and the factory,
Strike together for eight hours!
Report of committee concurred in.

By Delegate Metcalf:

RESOLVED, That we tender the sincere thanks of this Convention to the Trades Council and citizens of Birmingham and the press of this city for the many courtesies extended during the session.

Adopted unanimously by a rising vote.

Delegate Bechtold reported that the brewers of Birmingham, Ala., had been organized.

Moved to proceed to the selection of a place

to hold the next annual Convention. Agreed to.

Delegate Loebenberg nominated Indianapolis, Ind.

Delegate Malone nominated Hot Springs, Ark.

Delegate McGuire nominated Philadelphia, Pa.

Delegate Faulkner nominated Denver, Col. On a vote being taken by calling the roll

the following is the result:

Hot Springs, 8; Denver, 53; Indianapolis, 751; Philadelphia, 1,196.

Philadelphia, Pa., having received a majority of all votes cast, was declared the place to hold the next Convention in December, 1892.

Delegate White moved that the Convention adjourn.

After a very pleasant scene of enthusiasm among the delegates, in which three cheers for the American Federation of Labor were given with vigor, all joined in the song of "Auld Lang Syne."

President Gompers declared the Convention adjourned *sine die*, to meet at Philadelphia, Pa., on Monday, Dec. 12, 1892.

SAMUEL GOMEPRS,

President.

CHRIS. EVANS,

Secretary.

Attest: JERRE DENIS,

Assistant Secretary.

Organize National Unions.

It is now generally admitted by all really educated and honest men that a thorough organization of the entire working class, to render employment and the means of subsistence less precarious by securing an equitable share of the fruits of their toil, is the most vital necessity of the present day.

To meet this urgent necessity, and to achieve this most desirable result, efforts have been made, too numerous to specify, and too divergent to admit of more than the most general classification. Suffice it to say, that those attempts at organization which admitted to membership the largest proportion of others than wage-workers were those which went the most speedily to the limbo of movements that won't move; while, of the surviving experiments, those which started with the most elaborate and exhaustive platforms of abstract principles

were those which got the soonest into fatal complications, and soonest became exhausted.

In the face of so many disastrous failures to supply the undoubtedly existing popular demand for a practical means of solving the great problem, the query naturally suggests itself to many: "Which is the best form of organization for the people, the workers?"

We unhesitatingly answer: "The organization of the working people, by the working people, for the working people, that is, the Trades Union."

The Trades Unions are the natural growth of natural laws, and from the very nature of their being have stood the test of time and experience. The development of the Trade Unions, regarded both from the standpoint of numerical expansion and that of practical working, has been marvelously rapid. The

Trade Unions have demonstrated their ability to cope with every emergency—economic or political—as it arises.

It is true that single Trade Unions have been often beaten in pitched battles against superior forces of united capital, but such defeats are by no means disastrous; on the contrary, they are useful in calling the attention of the workers to the necessity of thorough organization, of the inevitable obligation of bringing the yet unorganized workers into the Union, of uniting the hitherto disconnected Local Unions into National Unions, and of effecting a yet higher unity by the affiliation of all National and International Unions in one grand federation, in which each and all trade organizations would be as distinct as the billows, yet one as the sea.

We assert that it is the duty, as it is also the plain interest, of all working people to organize as such, meet in council, and take practical steps to effect the unity of the working class, as an indispensable preliminary to any successful attempt to eliminate the evils of which we, as a class, so bitterly and justly complain. That this much desired unity has never been achieved is owing in a great measure to the non-recognition of the autonomy, or the right of self-government, of the several trades. The American Federation of Labor, however, avoids the fatal rock on which previous organizations, having similar aims, have split, by simply keeping in view this fundamental principle as a landmark, which none but the most infatuated would have ever lost sight of.

The rapid and steady growth of the American Federation of Labor, arising from the affiliation of previously isolated, together with newly-formed, National Unions; the establishment of local unions of various trades and callings where none before existed; the spon-

taneous formation of Federal Labor Unions, composed of wage-workers following various trades in places where there are too few persons employed at any particular one to allow the formation of Local Unions of those trades, thus furnishing valuable bodies of auxiliaries and recruits to existing unions upon change of abode, this steady growth is gratifying evidence of the appreciation of the toilers of this broad land of a form of general organization in harmony with their most cherished traditions, and in which each trade enjoys the most perfect liberty while securing the fullest advantages of united action.

And now, in conclusion, you will permit us to express our acknowledgment of the very moderate amount of governing which has fallen to the lot of those who have the honor to address you. While much of this good fortune must be attributed to the nature of the federal form of our organization, our task has been immeasurably lightened by the assistance of a body of organizers, who, without hope of reward, except the consciousness of performing a sacred duty to their fellow workmen, have carried the propaganda of trade unionism into the remotest parts of the Continent. Much of our burden has been also eased by the generous co-operation of the Executives of National and International Unions, both affiliated and unaffiliated, the latter of whom have doubtless so acted from a conviction that within the lines of the Federation will be fought to the bitter end the fast-coming grand struggle between Capital and Labor, involving the perpetuation of the civilization we have so laboriously evolved. Deeply grateful as we are for your fraternal support, we should be negligent of the duty we owe to each and all did we not urge the Local, National and International Union who have not yet joined the American Federation of Labor, to do so without further delay.

How to Form a Trade Union or a Federal Labor Union.

First—Unions may be formed of persons working at any trade or calling, or they may be composed of persons working at different or varied callings. The latter are called "Federal Labor Unions," and are of infinite value in such places where there are too few persons employed to form separate unions of each trade.

Second—Any person who desires to organize a Union of any trade will, by application to this office, be informed of the address of the chief officer of that trade; but should there be no General Union of that trade or calling, or should it be the intention to form a Federal Labor Union, he will be furnished with all necessary documents and information free of charge.

Third—Any number of wage-workers, not less than seven, of either sex, can obtain a Certificate of Affiliation (charter.)

Fourth—To organize: Call a meeting and read the printed appeal (furnished on applica-

tion), also these instructions. Proceed at once to elect officers. Apply to the President of the American Federation of Labor, at this office, for a Certificate of Affiliation, and enclose \$5.00 for the necessary fee, which will be returned, in full, if the application be refused. Send the fee by Post Office Money Order. Send also a list of names and residences of the seven Charter Members of your Union.

Fifth—With the Certificate of Affiliation a full working outfit for the New Union will be furnished, entitling its members to all the rights and privileges, and the Union to a voice and vote in the Annual Conventions of the American Federation of Labor.

Sixth—Every Union has full charge of its own funds, and is only required to pay to the Secretary of the American Federation of Labor a *per capita* tax of one cent per month per member in good standing.

